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SPEECHES

Delivered in the Legislative Council, New Brunswick, on Confederation and the Resignation of the Government, and Correspondence connected therewith.

FREDERICTON, April 4, 1866.

CONFEDERATION.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD moved that the House be put into Committee of the whole, in consideration of His Excellency's Speech at the opening of the Session. The motion prevailed; and hon. Mr. Seeley took the Chair, and by request read the paragraph in His Excellency's Speech, as follows:—

"I have received Her Majesty's commands to communicate to you a Correspondence on the affairs of British North America, which has taken place between Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor General of Canada; and I am further directed to express to you the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that it is an object much to be desired, that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one Government. These papers will immediately be laid before you."

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD—I rise your honors, fully impressed with a sense of the importance of the subject, a discussion of which I am about to initiate, and of my own inability to do it that justice which I could wish, or that it deserves. Before I proceed to state my reasons for believing that an union of the North American Colonies is desirable, I wish to refer to a few arguments that have been used for the purpose of affecting the minds of hon. members. It has been stated that this is not the proper branch in which first to discuss the question of Confederation, and from that proposition I most entirely dissent. An independent branch of the Legislature, we have the undoubted right to express our opinion upon any and every subject affecting the vital interests of the Province, and by abstaining from such course, we would forego one of our most important constitutional privileges. And we have the right to lead, if necessary, public opinion. Entertaining such views, I am desirous that this subject here should have a calm and dispassionate discussion. Imputations have been cast upon the reasons by which a majority of hon. members are actuated, with regard to this subject of union, and motives of a mercenary character have been urged as influencing this Body in arriving at conclusions upon it. I am free to confess, that union of the Provinces has been one of the political aspirations of my life, and, in view of its probable accomplishment, I can afford to treat with perfect indifference such aspersions as I have alluded to, no matter from whence they come. I am proud of this opportunity of giving some reasons for "the faith that is in me," although I feel as if I am a mere skirmisher in the attack upon the fallacies of those who oppose union, and must depend upon gentlemen who come after me to advance the weightier arguments in favor of the resolutions I intend to submit. Still, I should not be doing my duty did I not express my views, although not with the expectation of influencing the conclusions of your honors, because I know you have all given due attention to the important matter. First—what is the present position of New Brunswick, and how stands her relations with other Provinces and States, so far as affects her commerce, the development of her industrial resources, and her advancement in material and social prosperity?

Admitting that we have all those Constitutional privileges under the existence of British institutions which a free people ought to possess, the question presents itself to the

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thinking mind—from our local position, from the extent of our population, and our area of country, surrounded as we are, and circumscribed in narrow limits by other Colonies, are we in as favorable a position to derive all the legitimate advantages of those institutions which we would enjoy was there a larger field of operation. I think a little candid thought must bring the conviction home to every mind that, admitting the advantages and beauty of our form of Government, past experience has proved that in a Province of such limited population as ours, there is not room properly to develope or work out the system of Responsible Departmental Government. Then look at the anomalous position of other Colonies. Prince Edward Island, with a population of only 75,000, not as much as that of a second class city of the United States, or of Montreal, in Canada; with a revenue of $65,000, she has all the paraphernalia and machinery of Government calculated and adapted for millions of people, and how can Responsible Government be carried on in that small Colony, or even in New Brunswick with two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, only equal to the population of a third class city in the Old World? Here, some little paltry influences have frequently interfered to prevent the proper working of institutions eminently calculated to benefit the whole people, and we have sufficiently proved that it is impossible for a small representative branch to work out effectively those principles of self Government which have been conceded to us. Does it not often occur that a small number of men, in opposition, of no decided political views, may influence and thwart the desires of those in power, so as to defeat that object of good government, the general benefit of the whole people—a few individuals, where parties are so evenly balanced as they must be in small Legislatures, knowing that they are thus masters of the position, will and must have all they want, or their constituents want, or they will desert their party. We know such a state of things often exists, and are forced to the conclusion that our institutions, however desirable they are in principle, are not adapted for a small Colony. This brings us then, to a point from which we perceive the necessity for some change, and, from the documents before us, I am satisfied that the Government of the day believe a change necessary, and the paragraph in the Speech just read by his honor the Chairman, is an acknowledgment that we are not now in a position to take advantage of passing opportunities to improve our position, and that the Government is forced to the conclusion that the Provinces cannot remain as they are.

How indeed, I may ask, can any one duly considering our position, and being influenced by any ambition for the future prosperity of this country, fail to arrive at the same conclusion. Situated as the Province is at present, its trade is hampered and confined by restrictions which forbid its profitable expansion. We are met not merely when we cross the borders into the United States, but at those lines which divide us from the sister Colonies, with hostile tariffs and Custom House Officers; and therefore a union which will break down the restrictions, is necessary in order to enable us to extend the sphere of our commercial operations; to give vigor and vitality to our trade; to develop our resources, and open up remunerative channels for the exercise of the industries of our people. But, your honors, there is a still more powerful reason for union, to be drawn from the papers which have already been read here. The British Government and the British people have come to the deliberate conclusion that the Colonies cannot remain as they are, and that Her Majesty's Government cannot consent to deal with these Colonies as it has hitherto. It is claimed that the Colonies cannot expect to have the assistance of the Mother country, on the same terms as they have in the past, but that they must be prepared to assume a portion of the expense and responsibility of their own defence; and enjoying all the privileges of freemen, must bear some of the burdens of freemen. Such is the tenor of public opinion in Britain. And the conclusion is obvious. It has frequently been commented upon here, the anomaly that we, having always been protected by Britain, should immediately on the first cause of alarm, call for assistance; and yet possessing as we do, all those advantages, and all that freedom which we do as British American Colonies, should expect England to protect us, drawing the means entirely from the Imperial revenue, while we refuse to aid at all in our own protection.

One of the greatest objections which have been urged against the Quebec Scheme, and

which has had most weight with the people, has been swept away by the act of the Government itself. What have I frequently heard while attempts have been made to convince people of the great advantages Union would confer upon them "Oh!" it has been said, "we will be taxed to defend the Province!" And now what do we find; the Government itself has come down, and asked for assistance from the Provincial Revenues in order to afford military protection to the Province; nor is that all, but again the Government has come to the Legislature, and asked authority to construct a Navy, so that it does seem to me the Anti-Confederate Government has by its own act swept away its own strongest objection, and shown what they professed to consider a grievance to be an unavoidable policy. Not only, as I have said, has the policy just referred to, been enunciated by the Government of Britain, but it has been confirmed by leading members of the Opposition. I regret that I have not been able to find, for use now, the speech of Lord Stanley—one of England's rising men, who has already made his mark—which was a remarkable one, and strengthens the position I have taken, as to what is expected by all parties in England, in the future, of these North American Colonies. I have a few extracts which I will read, as I consider it better in quoting the sentiments of distinguished men to give their very words. The first extract is from a speech of one of Her Majesty's Ministers; one who stands among the foremost statesmen of the age. Mr. Gladstone declared—

"That the time had come when the Colonies with the privileges of freemen, must be prepared to bear a share of the burdens and responsibilities of freemen."

Mr. Foster, another rising man, said—

"The principle was becoming every day more established, that the relations between England and the Colonies of British North America, were very much on the basis of an offensive and defensive alliance between two self-governing communities, united by allegiance to one Sovereign."

These then are the principles the Mother country intends to adopt with regard to these Colonies, and our future relations.

In justice to the Delegates who assembled in conference at Quebec, I will, your honors, read the opinion expressed by the Colonial Minister. I think it is only an act of justice to those delegates, in view of the unfavorable opinion frequently expressed here and by the Provincial Press, with regard to them.

Mr. Cardwell says—

My Lord,—Her Majesty's Government have received with the most cordial satisfaction your Lordship's despatch of the 7th ultimo, transmitting for their consideration the Resolutions adopted by the Representatives of the several Provinces of British North America, which were assembled at Quebec. With the sanction of the Crown, and upon the invitation of the Governor General, men of every Province, chosen by the respective Lieutenant Governors, without distinction of party, assembled to consider questions of the utmost interest to every subject of the Queen, of whatever race or faith, resident in those Provinces, and have arrived at a conclusion destined to exercise a most important influence upon the future welfare of the whole community. Animated by the warmest sentiments of loyalty and devotion to their Sovereign—earnestly desirous to secure for their posterity throughout all future time the advantages which they enjoy as subjects of the British Crown,—steadfastly attached to the institutions under which they live, they have conducted their deliberations with patriotic sagacity, and have arrived at unanimous conclusions on questions involving many difficulties, and calculated under less favourable auspices, to have given rise to many differences of opinion. Such an event is in the highest degree honorable to those who have taken part in these deliberations. It must inspire confidence in the men by whose judgment and temper this result has been attained, and will ever remain on record as an evidence of the salutary influence exercised by the institutions under which these qualities have been so signally developed.

Her Majesty's Government have given to your despatch, and to the Resolutions of the Conference, their most deliberate consideration. They have regarded them as a whole, and as having been designed by those who framed them, to establish as complete and perfect an union of the whole into one Government, as the circumstances of the case, and a due consideration of existing interests, would admit. They accept them, therefore, as being, in the deliberate judgment of those best qualified to decide upon the subject, the best framework of a measure to be passed by the Imperial Parliament for obtaining that most desirable result.

I may now read from a despatch of Mr. Cardwell of the 12th of April, 1865, which expresses the decided opinion of the British Government on the subject:—

"It will be the duty of Her Majesty's Government to review in all its bearings the question of Confederation after the several Provinces shall have had the opportunity of expressing their sentiments upon it through their respective legislatures. In the meantime it will only be right for New Brunswick to bear in mind that, if the views you have now expressed are to be regarded as sound, New Brunswick as a separate Province appears to

be able to make no adequate provision for its own defence, and to rest in a very great degree upon the defence which may be provided for it by this country. It will, consequently, be likely to appear to your advisers reasonable and wise that, in examining the question of the proposed Union, they should attach great weight to the views and wishes of this country, and to the reasons on which these views and wishes have been based."

On the 25th of June there was another despatch from Mr. Cardwell forwarded to His Excellency, of a similar character, and couched in like decided terms, giving the opinions of Her Majesty's ministers:—

"I have the honor to transmit to you the copy of a correspondence between Viscount Monck and myself on the affairs of British North America, which have lately formed the subject of conference between Her Majesty's Government and a deputation from the Canadian Government.

"This correspondence having been presented to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, by command of Her Majesty, I have to direct you to communicate it also to the Legislature of New Brunswick at its next meeting.

"You will at the same time express the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that it is an object much to be desired that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one Government.

"In the territorial extent of Canada, and in the maritime and commercial enterprize of the lower Provinces, Her Majesty's Government see the elements of power, which only require to be combined in order to secure for the Provinces which shall possess them all, a place among the most considerable communities of the world. In the spirit of loyalty to the British Crown, of attachment to British connection, and of love for British institutions, by which all the Provinces are animated alike, Her Majesty's Government recognize the bond by which all may be combined under one Government. Such an union seems to Her Majesty's Government to recommend itself to the Provinces on many grounds of moral and material advantage, as giving a well-founded promise of improved administration and increased prosperity

"But there is one consideration which Her Majesty's Government feel it more especially their duty to press upon the Legislature of New Brunswick. Looking to the determination which this country has ever exhibited to regard the defence of the Colonies as a matter of Imperial concern, the Colonies must recognize a right, and even acknowledge an obligation, incumbent on the Home Government, to urge with earnestness and just authority the measures which they consider to be most expedient on the part of the Colonies, with a view to their own defence. Nor can it be doubtful that the Provinces of British North America are incapable, when separate and divided from each other, of making those just and sufficient preparations for national defence which would be easily undertaken by a Province uniting in itself all the population and all the resources of the whole. I am aware that this project so novel, as well as so important, has not been at once accepted in New Brunswick with that cordiality which has marked its acceptance by the Legislature of Canada; but Her Majesty's Government trust that after a full and careful examination of the subject in all its bearings, the Maratime Provinces will perceive the great advantages which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the proposed union is calculated to confer upon them all."

Now, your honors, what do the advocates of union propose to do, and what must be the result of a union of Provinces containing such elements of wealth and power as embodied in these Colonies? Take a survey of the magnificent territory that will be embraced in the contemplated confederation. We will have 3,000 miles of sea coast, with numerous and magnificent harbours, and the most productive fisheries on the face of the globe. We will have internal communication to the extent of thousands of miles, the whole permeating a country possessing in its extent, and in every portion, resources and elements of wealth of the most important character. If we look at the several Provinces, we find Nova Scotia taking gold medals in the exhibitions of European nations, for the excellence of her industrial productions; we find her gold mines of such extent and richness, as to attract the attention of the world; coal fields, from which a very large amount is exported to supply the markets of the United States. We find her possessing a fleet of merchant vessels which rivals in tonnage, the commercial marine of any nation in the world with the exception of three—England, France, and the United States; and in addition, Nova Scotia has abundant and valuable fisheries, as well as famous agricultural resources. Turning to Newfoundland, we find around her shores and coasts, fisheries which, properly protected, are sufficient to support the population of the whole world. We turn now to Canada, and there we find a vast extent of territory, rich in invaluable stores of material wealth of the mines, the forests, the sea, and of the field, with a commerce continually increasing, and an energy ever grasping after new fields of operation and additional facilities for trade; a Province which, from her agricultural resources is recognized as the granary of the West; a Province rich in public works, in canals, in bridges, in public buildings, scarcely surpassed in the older countries of Europe. Is it not apparent, your honors, that united in one common bond of alliance under one general Government, with free institutions guaranteed by

the protection and prestige of Britain, we must assume a position of importance among the nations of the world, of which we could not dream, out of union. I have referred to the public works of Canada; and here I would observe, that one objection which has considerable weight, doubtless, with some, urged against union is, that Canada is an expensive country and has a vast debt. Now let us enquire as to the nature of the debt of Canada, and contrast her position with that of some other countries. The great debt of the United States has accumulated by the war that has, during the past three years, desolated such a large portion of that country. In England, though the policy of the nation is peace, still she has an immense public debt contracted in expensive wars, and in providing and maintaining her unrivalled war department, for the purpose of preserving peace, and protecting the interests of her people. But the public debt of Canada is invested in public works, which are to a certain extent reproductive; which year by year are becoming more so, and which will ultimately yield a large source of revenue. I may mention the Welland Canal, which is now paying from 1 1-2 to 2 1-2 per cent on its cost. So that, your honors, these considerations give quite a new complexion to the theory that the Canadian public debt is an objection to union with her.

Properly to appreciate the necessity for those public works of Canada, we must travel in the Far West. We will there find a territory capable of sustaining three hundred millions of men, and the productions of which must find transit and an outlet to the ocean, down the St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence Canals.

In order to show that the objections to union, on the grounds stated, are not well founded, I will draw your honors' attention to the shipments from one port on Lake Michigan, which belongs to the United States, the City of Chicago, to Canada for exportation. The shipments from this port in 1862 to Canadian Ports were—of Flour, 420,544 barrels; Corn, 6,005,661 bushels; Oats, 187,252 bushels; Rye, 200,659 bush.; Barley, 71,919 bushels; but these large figures give only about one fourth of the exports to Canada, from the ports on Lake Michigan and contiguous country, all of which found its way down and paid tolls to the Canals of Canada. Allow me to direct your attention to the opinion expressed at the Commercial Convention at Detroit, by an eminent American, the Hon. J. F. Fay, of Detroit, who said:—

"I stated the rapid increase in the productions of Agriculture—great almost beyond conception—and that in ten years more all present avenues of the sea board would be crowded beyond their utmost capacity. I may now state, and I do it without any doubting, that there is but one avenue which, at that time, will be at all adequate to the necessities of the West, after crowding all the canals and railways leading to the Atlantic coast, and that is the one provided by the Almighty—the River St. Lawrence. A comparatively small expense will enlarge the locks on the canals, which are short and small around the rapids in that great river, and deepen its bed in one or two places sufficient to enable it to float vessels having twelve hundred to fifteen hundred tons burden. With that improvement, it will be profitable for Western merchants and dealers to ship from Detroit and Chicago, and other lake ports, the grain of the West, the staves and other of its productions, direct to all the markets of the World, including those of the Atlantic coast. A ship with its fifteen hundred tons cargo, may reach Quebec as quick as a canal boat of from two hundred to five hundred tons can reach Albany. It will avoid the slow time of about a mile an hour on the canal, making five, eight, or ten miles on the lakes and rivers. It will be many hundred miles nearer Europe than at New York; it will avoid the erection of elevators at Buffalo, so much complained of, whether justly or not; it will avoid canal tolls through New York; also all charges in the city of New York, paying tolls only on the short canals around the falls and rapids, and with a large ship and full cargo, the charge for transportation will be much less. It is very safe to say the production of the West may be laid down in Liverpool at much less cost than they can now be in New York, and I think for about half very often, and that the saving to the Western farmer will be from ten to twenty cents, and often much more upon every bushel he has to sell. Compute the amount that will be saved upon a hundred millions of bushels of grain alone, and all will see the importance each year to the Western producer.

"It is this consideration which makes the question of the Reciprocity Treaty of im-

mense importance to the whole North-west, and brings it home to the very doors of the ten millions of people already inhabiting this fertile region, and soon to be double that number. The interests of that great population, it is not in the power of the Government to protect by tariffs; they must compete freely with the World; the Pole, the Russian, the Egyptian, as well as the Englishman in the markets of England and France, and their productions must not only go to the sea-board, but across the Atlantic to meet the competition. Who can estimate then, the importance to the West of an open trade and unobstructed highway to the ocean, ample for ships of the proper dimensions to make cheap transportation profitable? Those who can appreciate this, may know the importance of the Reciprocity Treaty to the Lake country, which shall secure this object; the statesman who does it will merit the gratitude of a countless population in all coming time, who will be relieved and enriched by his statesmanship.

"We shall secure what is of the greatest importance to all the Western millions, viz: an ample, broad, and unimpeded highway to the markets of the World. For doing this, we bid the great States of New York and Pennslyvania be of good cheer, *it will be only the overflowings of the exhuberant West* which will go down the St. Lawrence; there will then be ample enough to crowd all the avenues of New York and Philadelphia to their utmost capacity."

In 1843, a Committee of American merchants from Illinois visited Canada, and waited upon the Governor General, for the purpose of presenting the grounds upon which they asked the Canadian Government to give additional facilities for reaching the seaboard by the St. Lawrence. They said to the Governor General:—

"We have come, briefly and respectfully to present to you, and through you to the Provincial Parliament and the British Government, the importance both to Great Britain and the United States, of so opening and perfecting the navigation of the Saint Lawrence, as to afford to the Commerce of both countries, a cheap communication between the shipping Ports on the Northwestern Lakes and Great Britain.

"The future prosperity of these States bordering on the Great Lakes, depends in a great measure upon cheap transportation to foreign markets; hence, they are vitally interested in the question of opening the St. Lawrence, the great national thoroughfare to the ocean, through and by which the people of England may enlarge their supplies of breadstuffs and provisions, greatly exceeding the quantity heretofore received from the United States, at one-fourth less cost than it has heretofore been received.

"From actual experience, derived from shipment of Indian corn from Chicago to Liverpool, it is shown that the freight charges often cover seven-eighths of the value of a bushel of corn at Liverpool; more than one half of the cost of wheat is also covered by the present very inadequate means of transportation.

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"The interior of North America is drained by the St. Lawrence, which furnishes for the country bordering upon the Lakes, a natural highway to the sea. Through its deep channel must pass the agricultural productions of the vast Lake regions. The commercial spirit of the age, forbids that international jealousy should interfere with great national thoroughfares, and the Governments of Great Britain and the United States will appreciate this spirit, and cheerfully yield to its influence. The great avenue of the Atlantic, through the St. Lawrence, being once opened to its largest capacity, the laws of trade, which it has never been the policy of the Federal Govt. to obstruct, will carry the commerce of the Northwest through it."

We have here the opinions of gentlemen of great political influence, thoroughly conversant as well with the subject of which they speak, which go to prove conclusively that the great means of transit to the ocean of the exuberant produce of the West, is and must be the St. Lawrence and the canals of Canada. To give in a short sentence an idea of the nature of the public works of Canada in which that debt, so much dreaded, is vested, I will read from a speech of Mr. M'Givern before a transit committee of the Detroit Convention:

"We had constructed canals connecting the great grain-producing country, bordering on the Western Lakes, with tide-water, at an outlay of nearly twenty-five millions of dollars. We had constructed a magnificent railway system, extending from the extreme Western section of Canada to Portland, in all involving an expenditure of one hundred and three millions of dollars. We

had the great Western Railway, with its branches, connecting Michigan and New York; the Buffalo and Lake Huron, from Goderich to Buffalo; the Northern Railway, from Collingwood to Toronto; the Welland Railway, from Port Colborne to Dalhousie; and the Grand Trunk line, from Sarnia to Maine."

Such then are some of the public works of Canada which have involved that Province in debt; but as has been shown, the alarm which has been excited on this point is false: and looking only at the amount of money invested in these canals of Canada, the alarmists have lost sight entirely of the re-productive character of the investment, and of the fact that the unbounded West, with its rolling praries, yielding almost spontaneously its millions of bushels of grain, must pay toll to these canals ere it finds its market abroad. But there is another reason, apart from the mere geographical ones mentioned, which is given by astute American merchants for making Canada the route by which the West will seek an outlet, and that is, because the climate of Canada is better adapted to preserve grain products of the West during transportation, than the climate of the Mississippi.

To show the importance of these canals, as not merely affording, as has been intimated by some hon. gentleman, a means of transit through to New York, there to be reshipped, but as presenting superior advantages to the shippers of grain direct to Liverpool, I will quote one transaction. On the 10th of September, 1861, 16,000 bushels of grain were purchased at Chicago, a part of which was shipped over the St. Lawrence, and a part via New York for Liverpool. That portion which was sent via Montreal and Quebec, reached Liverpool in twenty-six days from its shipment at Chicago, costing 67 cents per bushel. That shipped via New York was 80 days and cost 78 cents per bushel. Both quantities of course passed over the Welland Canal, and the great saving of time and freight by the Canadian route, must, it will at once be perceived, attract the shipment in that direction. I observed a somewhat important statement of the traffic over the Welland Canal, which in 1863 amounted to 3,425 Canadian vessels of 521,808 tons, and 3,474 American vessels of 808,289 tons, and this will give your honors some idea of the importance of this portion of the public works of Canada. But after all is said that can be said with regard to the character and extent of the traffic and business which pours its continuous stream over their public works, one must see for himself to realize it fully. No grander sight can meet the eye than is presented on a visit to the magnificent lakes of Western Canada, where the number of the craft, and magnitude of the business is perfectly amazing. No one can visit the Lake cities, whether in the States, or in Canada, such as Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Buffalo, Hamilton, Toronto, Oswego, without being impressed by their prosperity, their commerce, their industry, and the question that immediately presents itself to the mind is, if such are some of the results of the present trade with that great West, of ten millions of men, how will those results be magnified when that population has added to it the increase of another quarter of a century, and when the streams of commerce, continuing to flow through its present channels, its only natural outlet, shall have become broader, deeper, richer.

The object then, that the unionists have in view, is to combine under one Government these great resources and advantages. But it is not alone to Canada, in the West, we shall be joined, but this proposed confederation is intended to extend to the waters of the Pacific, and embrace the far off Island of Vancouver, and gather in to swell the aggregate greatness of the Confederacy, her vast resources in gold, in coal, in wood; her climate, which is more salubrious than that of the Southern States, and under which wheat will grow ten degrees further north than here on the seaboard. I ask your honors to take a statesmanlike view of what our position would be as a part of a great nationality, possessing the resources I have named, and contrast that with our present position. And then, leaving out the mere physical influence of this union, see how it must affect us should we have occasion to treat with foreign nations. The prestige of an enlightened people of four millions, which must in a few years be doubled, in such negotiations, and the influence which its delegates will have at commercial or political conferences, must be far beyond that pertaining to either Colony in its isolated position.

But another and most important consideration connected with this question of union is, that Confederation, consolidat-

ing the Provinces under one central Government, will give an amount of physical power and energy which, backed up by the power of Britain, may bid defiance to any power which might threaten our liberties, or seek to invade us. Nor should it be forgotten that we have the assurance of the British Government, that, while we display a proper regard for our own protection, which can best be done by uniting, the assistance of Britain will be given us. Some may say they are proud of New Brunswick, and I would not underrate her, but I confess I would be prouder of her did she form part of the united Colonies. I, as a New Brunswicker, going to Nova Scotia, and seeing there her varied resources, viewing from the Citadel at Halifax her beautiful harbour, would prefer to feel it was a portion of my country; going to Newfoundland or Prince Edward Island, I should like to regard them, not as an alien, but as a citizen; but when I go to Canada, then it is that those yearnings for nationality are quickened and strengthened. When I look upon her magnificent mountains, her vast lakes, her wonderous Niagara; when I stand upon the Citadel of Quebec and gaze upon the blue mountains of the Saguenay; or when my eyes linger upon the plains of Abraham, where Wolfe fell in the last and final struggle for British supremacy on the continent: and when sailing on her magnificent rivers, or speeding on her railroads, I witness her commercial greatness, and realize her vast resources, then I cannot fail to have a deep interest excited, and a strong desire to participate more closely in their benefits. No person, unless they examine for themselves, can have any idea of her vast resources and public works.

Never will I forget my feelings when I trod for the first time the soil of old England, and my mind thrilled as all the historical recollections of her greatness and glory came up before me, and I felt a portion of that glory reflected upon me as a humble Colonist belonging to the great Empire. I thought of the fact that the Colonies had been so long protected by the fostering arm of that power. I thought how, possessing a proper policy under that fostering influence, the Colonies might speedily arrive at a position, when, under the full play of British institutions, a strong and healthy manhood should be developed, and when the British North American Colonies and those young giants in the Pacific, would be able, as willing, should the old Fatherland be threatened, to spring to the rescue and make some return for the long years of maternal care Great Britain had bestowed upon them. With their resources and now latent power developed, Britain would stand surrounded by these Colonies a spectacle that would eclipse the glory of Rome in her palmiest days of splendor.

I wish now to direct attention to the United States as an example in point, while discussing the principle of Union. Read her history and mark the progress she has made since the declaration of independence, as contrasted with the time previous thereto when the country was divided into minor petty provinces, each having its distinctive tariff, and without a central governing power. Union became strength there, and to-day, as the result of the confederate principle, the United States stands a prodigy—a wonder among the nations.

Who that has read the history of Scotland, as graphically presented by Macaulay, can have failed to notice the wonderful impetus to trade and to the developement of her resources, to the spread of intelligence and the general welfare of the people, given by union. And what union has done for other countries in gathering fragmentary portions of territory into consolidation and strength, union will do for these isolated Provinces.

I now come to the Quebec scheme. There is one grand feature in that scheme which must remain as the basis of any union. I refer to the principle of representation by population, a principle that must obtain under representative institutions. In Canada, their greatest sectional difficulties, arose out of that very question. Lower Canada, when her population preponderated, claiming larger representation in population, which Upper Canada resisted, but which the latter, when her population had overtaken and outstripped in numbers the Lower Province, became aware of the correctness of the principle and sought its adoption.

With regard to the financial arrangements, I think that any one who will give them a candid consideration, must be impressed with the advantages, to us financially, of a union; for, as I have shown, even that bug-bear, the debt and public works of Canada, instead of being a disadvantage, must prove greatly beneficial to us. Another

important point to consider is, the effect of Confederation upon the Inter-Colonial Railroad. Three several times the Legislature of this Province have adopted schemes having in view the completion of that road, which is justly regarded as a work involving the most important results for this Province. Now, under the Quebec scheme, this Railroad is provided for on terms more favorable, in every respect, for the Province; terms which would ensure the completion of the work, without it being a local burden on the Province; and I cannot understand how hon. members, who recognize the importance of the railroad, can fail to discern in the facilities afforded for its immediate construction, an argument in favor of the scheme.

With different Legislatures; restricted by hostile tariffs; without any policy in common, the credit of the several Provinces of necessity is being destroyed; but those Colonies united, under Confederation, their credit would be established upon such a basis as to make it the best in the world, and would enable the General Government to obtain funds on the most reasonable terms, for the prosecution of any desirable public work.

In conclusion, your honors, I feel proud to be in a position to raise my voice in favor of union, as I shall be proud to do everything I can in order to inaugurate that grand scheme of Confederation which will give our common country her proper place among the nations of the world.

I now move the following:—

"*Resolved*, As the opinion of this Committee, That a Union of all the British North American Colonies, based on the Resolutions adopted at the Conference of Delegates from the several Provinces held at Quebec on the 11th day of October, 1864, is an object highly to be desired, essential to their future prosperity and influence, and calculated alike to strengthen and perpetuate the ties which bind them to the Mother Country.

"*Resolved*, As the opinion of this Committee, That the Legislative Council should concur in any measure which may be necessary to carry such a Union into effect."

Hon. Mr. CHANDLER—I must claim the indulgence of your honors, while I detain you for a little time, in presenting for your consideration some figures bearing upon this great subject. The figures I propose indulging in are not figures of speech, but figures of arithmetic, much less pleasant to the ear, but of very great importance in this case, because upon these figures depend our arriving at just conclusions.

The question has been frequently asked of late—Why has the debate on this subject been so long delayed? Now, it is a well recognized principle under our form of Government, that the Government of the day should bring all subjects recommended to the consideration of the Legislature in His Excellency's Speech, before both Houses of Provincial Parliament, and therefore if there is any cause of complaint for the delay in bringing on this debate, the Government is responsible for it, inasmuch as the necessary papers were not laid before us until yesterday. But, your honors, I think that the delay is a cause for congratulation, not regret, because I hope to be able to show that we are in a much better position to enter upon a discussion of the matter now than we were last year, and also that the difference of opinion which existed last year between those who favor Confederation and the Quebec Scheme, and the Government, with the party that has ranged itself in opposition, has become narrowed down to an exceedingly fine point. Last year, it will be remembered, the Legislature met immediately after a General Election, at which the people had been asked hurriedly and prematurely to pass upon the most important measure ever presented for their consideration, while those who, from some cause or other, were interested in opposing the measure, took advantage of the opportunity to misrepresent to the people, the object, nature, and legitimate result of the scheme. The consequence was that, at the time the House met, the whole country was greatly excited over the question, and it was not the best time for a calm and dispassionate discussion. Allow me to refer for a moment to some of the absurd influences which were made to operate during the progress of the last election. It is well known that our warm-hearted Irish fellow subjects, were almost unanimously opposed to Confederation at the election, because they felt that it would bring up and establish in these Provinces all those wrongs of which Ireland has had, justly or unjustly, to complain. To them Union was a talismanic word suggestive of all the privileges which it has been alledged Ireland forfeited, and the evils which were brought upon her by the union of England and Ireland, and the abolishment of the Irish Parliament.

Had there been time, our Irish friends could have been convinced of the error of opinion into which they had fallen; they could have been shown that O'Connell would

have been only too glad to accept of union on such terms as those on which the proposed union of the Colonies is predicated, and that Ireland with a local Parliament to regulate the local interests, with a representation in the General Parliament on the basis of population, would have been abundantly satisfied. Therefore it was unfortunate that, owing to misapprehension, this large body of men should have been influenced to act almost as a unit in concert.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN—Would you disfranchise them?

Hon. Mr. CHANDLER—No! let not my hon. friend misunderstand me. I would be the last to proscribe any one, especially my Irish fellow-subjects; for I do not forget the warm-hearted, generous, and disinterested support I received from them while seeking their suffrage for a seat in the other branch of the legislature. My observations are in reference to the misrepresentations made as to the object of the Confederate Scheme.

Indeed, I may say, your honors, that it is much to be regretted when any body, or sect, of men, are thrown by circumstances, into a particular course of action in a body; it is calculated to beget action, frequently leads to combination of those who think differently, and must of necessity exercise great influence in turning the scale one way or the other.

Considering all things—the very great excitement that prevailed; the strenuous exertions made by gentlemen on the other side; the absurd, or worse than absurd, representations that were made orally, or scattered by the Press, broadcast over the Province—my only wonder is, that so large a vote was thrown at the March elections in favor of confederation, through the Province generally, and that some five or six Counties returned members favorable to the scheme.

In St. John and other large constituencies, it is true the majority was against us, but then, had that very important element in the constituent body, to which I have referred, been as usual, divided in opinion, the result would have been very different; while as it was, the minority in all the Counties was very large and very respectable. Indeed, I am safe in saying, that when outnumbered in votes, the Confederation principle received the support of many of the most enlightened, far-seeing, candid, and patriotic members of the several communities.

There is another reason why good has come of the delay. Since the last Session, there was a delegation from the Government sent home to England, in order to confer with Her Majesty's Government, and to shew to the enlightened statesmen who rule the destiny of the Empire, and whose wisdom in the art of government, whose policy in planning and consummating those designs by which the truest interests of the largest numbers of the people are served, stands, I am inclined to think, very high in the estimation of the statesmen of the world; to shew to them, I say, that they were entirely mistaken, both as to the temper of the people of the Province, and to the probable bearing of the scheme of Confederation. It was very fortunate that delegation went to England. The information obtained there was, I think, of a character most salutary to the delegates themselves, to the Govt., and to the whole people. I regard the money that delegation cost, as well expended, and the delay occasioned by it, most advantageous. They found that in England there was but one opinion, and that was that Confederation must come sooner or later. They found this to be the opinion among the intelligent public; they found it in the Government and among the supporters of the Government; and not only so, but it was reported, and I am inclined to believe it, that in an interview with Earl Derby His Lordship informed the delegates that irrespective of party politics, it was the settled policy of England to promote in all possible ways the carrying into operation of the Confederation of the Colonies. Therefore the delegates must have returned home with the conviction that the policy of England—of the British Government—was fixed with regard to Confederation, and that is an important point gained.

But, your honors, not only is it the policy of England, but in this country the feeling in favor of Confederation is daily being assimilated to that of Britain; the tide of public opinion has turned, and is now, in a volume becoming every day more broad, more deep, more resistless, rushing on in the direction of union; the all potent energy of the public will is at work, and those who will may resist; but of this they may be assured, they cannot stay the progressive current, they must make way or be borne down be-

fore it. Then again during the year, the Government, without the sanction of the Legislature, sent delegates to Washington, in order to confer with the Colonial delegates and the American Government, with regard to the then expiring Reciprocity Treaty, and also another set of delegates was sent to the British West Indies, Mexico, and Brazil, to open up Trade Treaties and new channels of commerce.

It does appear to me that the Government, recognizing the necessity for such steps, must see how desirable it is that we should not have to seek such treaties, each separate and weak colony for itself, and by its distinctive delegate, but that we should be in a position when a General Government could by its ambassador, ask for the united Provinces a recognition of their claims to the rights and courtesies of trade extended to the older nations.

Again there was another delegation to Ottawa to attend a Confederate Trade Council, called by His Excellency the Governor General, so that we have arrived at that state when such a Council can be called by the Governor General, and when if we have not in its larger meaning a Confederate Government, we have a Confederate Trade Government.

But do your honors want evidence that Confederation principles are growing and that the Government is catching the inspiration from public opinion? If so, our own journals attest the fact in unmistakable language. Before directing your attention to the journals I may premise that the executive Government is responsible for the Speech of His Excellency in opening the Legislature, and for the Address in reply thereto. I will now ask you to listen to the language of the Government in the Speech last year.

"At the request of the Governor General of Canada, and with the approbation of the Queen, I also appointed Delegates to a Conference of Representatives of the British North American Colonies, held in Quebec in the month of October last, with the view of arranging the terms of a Federal Union of British North America. The resolutions agreed to by this Conference appeared to me to be so important in their character, and their adoption fraught with consequences so materially affecting the future condition and well-being of British America, that, in order to enable the people of New Brunswick to give expression to their wishes on the subject, I determined to dissolve the then existing House of Assembly. I now submit these Resolutions to your judgment."

We turn to the reply. It merely thanks His Excellency for the assurance that the resolutions of Conference will be laid before the House. Notice how cold, and dry, and formal, it is. Now let me trouble you to look at the reference to this subject in the Speech of this session, and observe what an improvement there is in style, as I hope there is in the convictions, of the Government. His Excellency, for the Government, says:—

"I have received Her Majesty's commands to communicate to you a Correspondence on the affairs of British North America, which has taken place between Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor General of Canada; and I am further directed to express to you the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that it is an object much to be desired, that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one Government. These papers will immediately be laid before you."

And then the language of the reply, how differently worded from the terms of that of last year:—

"The Correspondence on the affairs of British North America, which Your Excellency announces will immediately be laid before us by command of Her Majesty, will receive at our hands that careful and respectful attention due to matters emanating from so high a source, and be considered with an anxious desire to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government."

Now this is language in which we all can and do most heartily concur; it is language that shews the Govt. must have changed its opinion since last year. It is true, they added the words "so far as may be consistent with the true interests and prosperity of the Province at large."

Hon. Mr. HAZEN—Very important words.

Hon. Mr. CHANDLER—We shall see that the question is narrowed down to a very fine point, and will, I think, be able to prove that it is for the interest of the people. But as I have said, we are all in perfect accord with regard to our duty to the Queen, and the words of this reply are almost identical with those used at the Quebec Conference. Thus in the 1st Resolution we say, "The best interests, and present and future prosperity of British North America, will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union

can be effected on principles just to the several Provinces." And the only point for us to consider is, is union consistent with the interests of the people of the Province, which point I will proceed now to discuss. I shall first turn my attention to some of the objections to the Quebec Scheme, and then proceed to consider its financial aspect.

Last year, the House of Assembly passed a Resolution in which this paragraph occurs: "The consummation of said scheme would prove politically, commercially, and financially disastrous to the best interests and prosperity of the Province." With regard to the scheme being commercially and politically disastrous, I shall leave those points to be discussed by other gentlemen who will follow me, but before I am done I hope to be able to convince your honors that not only will Confederation not prove financially disastrous to the Province, but that it is a financial necessity. It is quite common to hear persons say "I am in favor of union, but don't like the Quebec scheme," but I have never heard such objectors define what it is in the scheme they do not like, or why. An hon. member has stated in this House, that under the scheme we will give all our money to Canada, and get no return, but I think I can show that we will get much more from, than we contribute to, the General Government. I am inclined to the opinion that there are many gentlemen who get the credit of being very intelligent, who are fervent opposers of the scheme, and who still have never read the Resolutions; if such would give a little more attention to a consideration of what the scheme really is, they might soon be brought to approach the subject in the same spirit as has the Government in the Speech and the Address, already refered to.

It has been frequently urged that the delegates to the Quebec Conference, proceeded there without authority. I need only refer to the opinion expressed by Mr. Cardwell, in his despatch to Lord Monck, of the 3rd December, 1864. He says:—

"With the sanction of the Crown, and upon the invitation of the Governor General, men of every Province, chosen by the respective Lieutenant Governors without distinction of party, assembled to consider questions of the utmost interest to every subject of the Queen, of whatever race or faith, resident in those Provinces, and have arrived at a conclusion destined to exercise a most important influence upon the future welfare of the whole community."

Now, your honors, I think in most constitutional bodies, that would be considered sufficient authority, but we have the same idea expressed last year in the Speech by the Governor, put in his mouth by the Government. He said: "At the request of the Governor General of Canada, and with the approbation of the Queen, I also appointed delegates to a Conference of representatives of the British North American Provinces, held at Quebec in the month of October last, with a view of arranging the terms of a union of British North America."

And therefore we have the Conference confirmed by Mr. Cardwell, its confirmation reiterated by the Government, and now forsooth we are told the delegates had no authority. But I want to ask this: by what authority the delegates went to Engalnd last Summer; or to Washington, or to the West Indies? Where is the act of the Legislature authorizing those delegations, and if we had no authority to go to Quebec, where is their authority?

Another objection is, that the scheme was carried by Canadian influence. Now, I do wonder what kind of Canadian influence was brought to bear upon the representative gentlemen from the several Colonies who assembled at Quebec. I am aware that motives of a most unworthy character have been represented as influencing the minds of the delegates, but I shall not take the trouble to repel or answer such defamers. It is true Canada had twelve delegates, while the other Provinces had only twenty-one. The vote was by Provinces; one vote for each Province.

Hon. Mr. HAZEN—Where does that appear?

Hon. Mr. CHANDLER—I state it, and I presume no hon. gentleman will doubt my word. Every motion required a two-third vote to carry it, so that the Lower Provinces had the advantage; and when a question affecting the Lower Provinces, as against Canada, came up, Prince Edward Island had the same influence as Upper Canada. So that settles the objection beyond all doubt.

The third objection I notice is, the opinion expressed by some, that if the Provinces are united, it should be by Legislative, not Federal Union. Now my answer is, that is impossible. In the first place, from the

peculiar institutions and laws of Canada, she would not consent; and the Lower Provinces would never agree to be deprived of their local Parliaments. The spirit of the people of the Maritime Provinces is altogether in favor of having all mere local matters regulated and legislated upon by a local Parliament, and from that spirit they will not depart; and, at the same time, the establishment of the principle would lead immediately to largely increased, direct taxation So that, your honors, I assume that the objection falls to the ground.

Then representation by population is objected to, and it is said that the Lower Provinces will be swamped by the overpowering influence of Canada. In the first place, I am not aware how any gentleman forming a government on representative principles, could claim for or give to any one locality more than its fair share of representative power. It is not at all uncommon to hear complaints from communities that they have not their fair share of representatives in the Legislative body of their particular State, but I am not aware of ever having heard or read, of any people or community who enjoyed representation in proportion to their population, complaining. No, because they have their fair share, and no reasonable men can ask more.

Ireland and Scotland, having 145 members out of 656 in the British Parliament. If they complain, it is only because they have not a fair share according to their population. The city of London sometimes complains that she has not the number of representatives she ought to have, as compared to her population, but a fair and proportionate share is the most she claims; and your honors are very well aware that the great difficulties in Canada, have all arisen out of the fact that the respective Provinces were not represented according to population. In fact it is a truism founded upon general and well established Constitutional principles, and underlying the whole policy of representative institutions, and how, then, I ask, could any gentleman having a regard for character as a statesman, have got up in the Conference, and claimed that one man in New Brunswick was equal to two in Canada, or say that when the Lower Province was awarded her share of representatives, being based upon her population, it was not a fair share. It is an absurdity.

But the fifth objection that I notice is the constitution of the Legislative Council, which elicited a great deal of discussion, but was ultimately agreed to quite unanimously. By the arrangement, Canada, Upper and Lower, was to have twenty four members each, and the three Maritime Provinces twenty four, say, Nova Scotia ten, New Brunswick ten, and Prince Edward Island four. The population of Lower Canada in 1861 was 1,110,664, of Upper Canada, 1,396,091. The arrangement gives Lower Canada one representative in the Legislative Council to about every 46,000 inhabitants, and Upper Canada one in every 58,000, while New Brunswick has one in every 25,000 of her population, or nearly three to one—considerably more than double the representation of either Canadas in the Upper House. The two Canadas united have one in 52,000, and the Lower Provinces, united, one in 27,000, or about double the number in proportion, and if Canada increases as she has in the past, our representation will become as three to one compared with her's, for the number of members in the Upper House is fixed for all time to come, and cannot be altered. Now, I ask, what greater protection could be afforded in the construction of the Legislative Council, than has been provided. The Upper House will represent the Colonies, and supposing the possibility of any measure passing the lower Branch prejudicial to the interests of one particular colony or of the whole confederation, the safe-guard is provided, and the Legislative Council would stop the measure.

But, under Responsible Government, all experience goes to prove that, however paradoxical it may appear, minorities in the Legislature are more to be feared than majorities, as small minorities frequently turn the scale, and therefore we have less danger to apprehend in this union. In Canada there always has been and always will be two parties. Now, it will be evidently the policy of each of these parties to seek the countenance and assistance of the Lower Colonies, who, on questions involving the fate of the General Government, as well as in minor matters, would really control the vote; and if they should combine against us, it would only drive us into combination, and our comparative weakness would tend to ensure our success, because we should immediately enlist the sympathies of one party or the other, as well as cement and secure the sympathies of the several Lower Provinces, in action for the assistance of each other and their united interests. I well remember a speech made by Mr. Seward in the Senate of the United States, in which he showed that while the Southern States were numerically in the minority in Congress, yet the North, feeling its own strength in point of numbers, was always more or less divided in opinion on the great questions of the day, yet the South, conscious of their inferiority in point of numbers, combined from a sense of weakness, and actually controlled the measures, appropriations and patronage of the Government far more than did the northern influence.

It will be said that in Congress there are two Representatives from each State, and the same system should be adopted in the Federal Legislative Council, but those who make such remarks

forget the difference in the Constitutions of the two houses; they forget that there the system of Executive responsibility that obtains here is unknown, and that the President has, for the time being, a supreme power. The Senate of the United States has not only legislative but as well executive powers, and can at any time adjourn its legislative session and go into secret executive session. Its assent is required to all treaties, and to make peace or declare war; it confirms the appointment of Judges and Ambassadors, and all other general appointments; it has the power of impeachment, and is therefore a great Court of Justice, so that having such vast powers, it is unlike any body incident to our Constitution.

We have, I think, in the Constitution of the Legislative Council, provided all the guards and recognised all the local rights that can be reasonably asked for, and New Brunswick certainly stands in a better position than any of her sister Colonies. While Nova Scotia has 100,000 more inhabitants than New Brunswick, the representation in the Council is the same, because the basis of the Council is not population but territorial. So it is provided that Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island will have the same number of Councillors, although the former has a very much larger population than the latter—double the number of inhabitants.

I now proceed to notice another objection. The Inter-Colonial Railway is admitted on all hands to be a work, the construction of which is of the first importance to New Brunswick, and one in which she is much more directly interested than any of the other Colonies. But the objection is urged that we have not sufficient security, that Confederation will give us that Railroad. Well, our answer to this is, that it will be based on and secured by an Imperial Act, and good care will be taken to make its provisions sufficient for the emergency. I beg now to call your honors' attention to the 68th Resolution of the Conference.

"The General Government shall secure without delay, the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railway, from River de Loup, through New Brunswick, to Truro, in Nova Scotia."

It occurs to me that stronger language could not be used to express the meaning of the Resolution, or to secure the result contemplated. The words secure *without delay* its *completion*, are pretty strong terms. Now, let us see what is the first response of the British Government to that Resolution. I may remind your honors, in passing, that His Excellency, by the advice of the Government, wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, setting forth that the security for the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railroad was not sufficient. His Excellency's despatch is dated February 27th, 1865, and contains this paragraph:—

"I find, however, that a very general impression prevails that the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railroad, from River de Loup to Truro, is to be provided for by a clause in the Imperial Act, giving effect to the proposed Federal Union."

To which the British Ministry reply:—

"*Downing Street*. 18*th March*, 1865.

"SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 27th February, in which you request instructions whether provisions will be made for the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railway in the Act of Union, or be embodied by the Imperial Parliament in a separate Act. In reply I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government have expressed their cordial approval of the proceedings of the Conference at Quebec, and have engaged that if, as they hope, the Provincial Legislatures sanction the scheme of the Conference, they, on their part, will submit to the Imperial Parliament the measures which may be necessary for carrying that scheme into effect.

"Of the Resolutions adopted by the Conference, the 68th provides that the General Government shall secure without delay the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railway, Her Majesty's Government have understood that Resolution, with reference to the Correspondence which had previously passed with the Governments of the several Provinces; while, therefore, they have entered into no new stipulations on the subject, they have by no means excepted the 68th Resolution from the general approval which they have expressed of the entire scheme, or from the engagement respecting it to which I have referred.

"What steps it may be proper hereafter for Her Majesty's Government to take in pursuance of this engagement, cannot be stated positively, until it shall be known what course has been taken by the Provincial Legislatures, and until Her Majesty's Government shall have received the communications which they hope to receive from persons deputed by the Governor General to give to Her Majesty's Government the benefit of their counsel upon the various measures necessary for carrying the Resolutions of the Conference into effect.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "EDWD. CARDWELL."

When a British Minister speaks through despatches, he generally means what he says, and I cannot conceive how any answer more decisive than that just quoted, can be given to our objectors. But Mr. Cardwell does not stop there, but gives still another answer in a despatch to Lord Monck, which is not among the papers submitted here. This despatch was written just after the delegates had reached England, and I presume shortly after their interview with the Secretary of State. I now read Mr. Cardwell's despatch and Lord Monck's reply.

"DOWNING STREET, 22d July, 1865.

"MY LORD,—I think it right to apprise your Lordship that I receive communications which lead to the conclusion that more positive assurances from Canada than have yet been given to the Maritime Provinces on the subject of the readiness of Canada to ensure the prompt completion of the Intercolonial Railway in the event of Confederation being adopted, would be very satisfactory to the friends of the measure in those Provinces, and encourage their efforts to recommend the scheme of confederation to those of their countrymen by whom it has not hitherto been supported.

I have, &c. EDWARD CARDWELL.
Governor Viscount Monck."

"QUEBEC, August 14th, 1865.

"SIR—Referring to your despatch, No. 120, of July 22, I have the honor to transmit a copy of an approved Minute of the Executive Council of this Province, on the subject to which your despatch refers.

"I may add the expression of my own personal conviction that there exists amongst the Ministers and Members of the Legislature of the Province, not only the determination to construct the Intercolonial railway so soon as the Union of the British North American Provinces shall have taken place, but the strongest desire for the early completion of that most important work.

I have, &c. MONCK."

And now we have an additional assurance rom the Canadian Government, in a report of a Committee of the Executive Council of that Province, forwarded by Lord Monck, with the despatch I have just read.

"Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Executive Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General, 14th August, 1865.

The Committee of Council have had under consideration the despatch No. 120 of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 22d July, 1865, suggesting the propriety of some more positive assurance being given by the Government of Canada to the Maritime Provinces on the subject of the Government of Canada, to ensure the prompt completion of the Intercolonial Railway in the event of Confederation of all the British North American Provinces being accomplished.

The Committee can only reiterate the declaration of the Government and Parliament of Canada, that they regard the construction of the Intercolonial Railway as a necessary accompaniment and condition of Confederation, and that not a day will be unnecessarily lost after the accomplishment of Confederation in commencing the work and prosecuting it to completion.

Certified, W. A. HIMSWORTH,
Asst. C. E. C.

So that, your honors, we have the reiterated assurances of the British Government, which is prepared to guarantee the money that may be required to construct the railroad, which may well remove any fears entertained by hon. gentlemen, or by the country.

There is another reason that strengthens my belief in the sincerity of the pledges given with regard to the railroad. At the time the Resolutions were adopted by the Conference, it was very evident that the United States Govt. had determined upon the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and therefore Canada saw the necessity for securing some outlet for her trade through British territory. And I assume that if we become confederated, the new Members returned to the General Parliament will be anxious, independent of the pledge to the Imperial Government, to further to completion the great work. Every motive that can operate on men, whether it be the patriotic desire to promote the interests of the Province, to foster and afford facilities for its trade, as well as the spirit of selfishness or self-interest, must influence the minds of Canadian legislators in favor of this road. Then again, in a despatch from Mr. Cardwell to Lord Monck, under date of June 27, 1865, that gentleman says, referring to correspondence held between certain Canadian Ministers and Members of Her Majesty's Government: "The Canadian ministers, in conclusion, said that they hoped it would be understood that the present communications did not in any way affect or alter the correspondence which had already passed between the Imperial Govt. and the Governments of the British North American Provinces on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway. To this we entirely agreed. Who were the British ministers who thus agreed to the proposition? The Duke of Somerset, the Earl De Grey, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell. So, your honors, I think we have all the guarantees we can reasonably expect,

but if that is the only difficulty which stands in the way of Confederation, it will be very easy to have the railroad provided for in such a way as to remove all possible danger of failure in its accomplishment.

The last general objection to Confederation I shall notice is, that large additional burdens are to be incurred in opening up the North West territory. Now, that is not by any means a necessity of Confederation, and must depend entirely upon future legislation, and upon the state of the finances of the General Government; and there need be no fears entertained that any move will be made in that direction until it is shewn to be judicious and desirable; because while the lower Colonies may be averse to it, Lower Canada will not be desirous of adding any more Colonies to the western part of the Confederacy, unless there be a strong necessity for it, as, having now one third of the population of the proposed Confederacy, her policy will not be unnecessarily to favor the enlargement of the Western population. But if it should be found desirable, the matter will be taken up and decided on its merits.

Having noticed the objections not financial, I will now proceed to consider those of a financial character.

The debt with which Canada enters the Union, is $62,500,000; New Brunswick, $7,000,000; Nova Scotia, $8,000,000; and Prince Edward Island, $2,500,000; or a total of $80,000,000, exclusive of the debts of Newfoundland.

It has been remarked, that by Union we would be going into partnership with a country heavily in debt; in fact, there are those who say and pretend to believe, that Canada is bankrupt. Canada is heavily in debt, but it is in consequence of and invested in her public works. "Figures of arithmetic" it is said, "don't lie;" and by figures we learn, that if New Brunswick comes into Union with a debt of $7,000,000, Canada with ten times the population, would be justified to enter with a debt of $70,000,000, or seven and one half millions more than she is allowed, which is all in favor of the partnership. But the objections lie still deeper. How, let us see, was the debt of Canada contracted? And in considering this point, it should be borne in mind that there are two classes of debts. There are the debts of the spendthrift, heedlessly incurred for no good purpose, and tending to produce no good results; and there are the debts of the prudent, thinking man, incurred in the improvement of his property, reproductive in their character, calculated at once to benefit himself and benefit others. I think we shall find the public debt of Canada in character like the last one I have mentioned, and that it is not so much a debt as an investment devoted to public purposes, and promoting the public good. A considerable portion of the debt of Canada is invested in the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railroads, amounting in Debenture Account and loan to $30,000,000, or nearly one half of her whole debt brought into Confederation; and on her stock in the Great Western, the Province is now receiving interest, while the Grand Trunk must ere long prove a remunerative work. I wish that our debt stood on the same basis, and our railroads had been built as have those of Canada, where 3-4ths of the cost of construction was foreign capital; and she has now some 1,900 miles of railroad, a permanent work for themselves and posterity. to be shared with us when we join in union, and toward which the Province has only contributed one fourth of the expenditure; so that even if the railroads did not pay, they are of immense indirect benefit, and have been built by the contributions of the capitalists of Great Britain. Next among the assets of Canada on which her debt is based, are the Canals, in which—the St. Lawrence, Welland, and Chamblay Canals, she has $15,000,000; making $45,000,000 in those two items, thus accounting for most of the debt. But she owns three large steamers, valued at $400,000; has important works in Montreal Harbor, costing $500,000; making a total of nearly $46,000,000. Now what do we find as to the receipts from those investments? We find that Canada at this day is receiving one and a quarter per cent. on her proposed debt of $62,500,000 drawn from her public debt in railroads and canals. On the other hand. New Brunswick is receiving, not on the $7,000,000 debt but on her present railway debt, but three-fourths of one per cent., and in a very short time our railway will require renewing, so that then those profits will be absorbed. A large portion of our proposed debt of $7,000,000, is to provide for works, under what is known as the Lobster Railroad Act, the money for which, once paid from the Treasury, will be gone from the control of the government, and from which the Province need look for no return apart from general

benefits; but Canada will get her money back because it is in Stock from which, as I have shewn, she already receives $937,500, beside a great deal more from other Public Works. It will thus be seen that there is a vast difference in the character of the debts of this Province and Canada, and that New Brunswick has a larger debt in the same ratio than Canada.

Again, Canada has contracted her debt in the erection of magnificent Public Buildings of a permanent character, and that will answer their present purpose for all time to come. There are the magnificent Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, Custom Houses, Banks, Post Offices—all public property—all paid for, and which will be brought into and become the property of the Confederate Provinces. In New Brunswick we pay rent for our Public Buildings, such as Post Offices and Custom Houses, and the public are but poorly accommodated at that; and in Union, it will be found desirable to erect Buildings for those purposes. In Canada, too, the Government has Barracks under its control.

I have shown then, your honors, that the debts of this Province and Canada do not compare either in amount or in paying qualities, and with the facts I have advanced, I do not see how any candid man can show that in the proposed partnership we would not have the decided advantage. Perhaps I am told that there will be a new and expensive General Government and Parliament to provide for out of the resources of the whole Confederation! Who forms that Parliament? our own Representatives. Who controls that Parliament? The several constituencies of the Union. I wonder, when our American neighbors framed their great Confederation, whether any sane men ever troubled themselves about the expense of erecting public buildings at Washington, or the expense of sending men of their choice there to look after the general interests. No, they did not follow a "penny wise and pound foolish" policy, and remain content with mere local legislatures, which had they done, they would not have made the rapid stride that Republic has, or stood in the position it now does. It is because the United States burst the confined spheres of petty limited States, broke down the restrictions of hostile tariffs, and became a great Confederation, with a general Government to regulate all great national affairs, leaving to the local Legislatures, alone, the province of managing local affairs, that she has been enabled to weather the adverse storms of the past, surmount the difficulties that have beset her course, and stand to-day the wonder of the world. It never entered into the heads of her statesmen or people what the General Government would cost; their first and most anxious enquiry was as to the national benefit, andso it should be here; and so regarding the question, the objection I have referred to falls to the ground.

Now, before proceeding to show what the arrangement is to cost us, let the enquiry be made, how much will the union save? In the salary of the Lieut. Governor, who now receives under Imperial guarantee £3,500, we should save, I should suppose, one half, as I presume the gentleman appointed will not find it necessary to occupy so large a building as Government House, or keep up an establishment such as is usual, under existing circumstances, so that £1,750 will be ample. That amount then will be saved in each of the Colonies, and will go a long way towards paying the salary of the head of the General Government. In the expenses of the local Legislatures £5,000 each may be saved; they now cost some £10,000, and one half of that amount will be found sufficient, for when in session the time will be devoted to business, and will not be taken up discussing want of confidence motions and great national questions, but will be devoted to the subdivision and appropriation of our ample local funds, for Education, Public Works,—including Great and Bye Roads, Bridges, &c.—and for the passage of such local acts as come within the range of their exclusive local authority, by the terms of Confederation.

So with regard to the Executive Councils; I am inclined to think they will not require so many members holding important offices at £600 a year. The office of Postmaster General will be at once abolished, and I presume other public offices might be, without detriment. This I will say with regard to my hon. friend, the Postmaster General, that I could hope that when the change is effected, he might occupy a similar position in relation to the General Government.

At all events, I presume the number of Executive Councillors would be diminished to some four or five, and that the Executive expenses, which I am sorry to find are increasing year by year, will be very greatly reduced.

I suggested a few years since a financial scheme by which the Government might have saved large sums yearly, but I am sorry to find that although my views were cordially received by this House, and some of them adopted, the Government has not seen fit to act upon the advice. Next, a very large saving may be effected in the Audit Office, and by the abolition of Custom Houses between the Provinces. The public Printing will be reduced; this item of expense in New Brunswick is perfectly frightful, and larger in proportion than for the same service in any other country I know of. A considerable item will be saved in delegations, which have become a part of our system, for it seems to be understood now, that we must send one either to England or the sister Colonies at least twice a-year. I am not finding fault, and know that they are very pleasant sometimes, and I have had my share of them; but under Confederation they will not be necessary as a local charge, and the saving will be a large item in the general fund toward the expenses of the General Government. Another and an important item to consider, is the increased value to our public lands which the Intercolonial Railroad will impart to them, that will nearly make up our proportion of the support of the General Government.

I presume it will not be doubted, that when united, our credit will be better and the value of our public debt greatly increased above what it can be in our fragmentary and isolated state, when the uncertainty that surrounds our future, and the very possibility that our resistance to the wishes of the British Government for union, may tend to bring about annexation, must have a depressing effect upon our securities.

The next financial difficulty to many persons is the 80 cts. per head Resolution, and I have been surprised at the variety of opinions entertained on this point. One person looks upon it as an annual grant, which may be withdrawn at any moment. Not so! But it is a part of the Constitution; will be embodied in the Imperial Act as a permanent grant—a grant forever—and has so been treated in Canada. Another class of objectors complain that, no matter how the population of the Provinces increases, we will only receive $204,000 a year. That is the amount of our 80 cts. per capita, and is payable half yearly in advance, for our own local purposes. In Canada, the objection to this feature of the scheme is, that the population of the Lower Colonies does not increase so fast as theirs, and that bye and bye when Canada gets but 40 cents per head, New Brunswick will receive 60 cents; so that in the opinion of Canada, instead of its being properly an objectionable feature for New Brunswick, it is altogether favoable to her; and so it is!

Something has already been said with regard to the canals, which are now more than paying working expenses. In the future it may or may not be the policy to reduce the tolls, and thus attract a larger amount of traffic, or it may be thought better policy to keep the tolls at the present rates, and thus make them more reproductive. But some persons profess to find serious cause for financial alarm in the alledged necessity for deepening the canals. If that is done, it will be by men representing and studying the interests of the whole union; or on some general public policy that will justify the expenditure. If the Reciprocity Treaty be not renewed, so great will be the increase of trade seeking transit over the canals, that it may be the policy of the General Government to deepen them, but at all events, it will have to be the result of legislation, first had.

Another objection, and one that has almost frightened a good many people out of their propriety is, that in case of danger, our young men will be marched off to Canada to protect her borders, as if Canada had the whole control of us, and as if we, a little Province of 250,000 inhabitants, would be called upon to defend Canada, with her two and a half millions. Surely no one, except for the mere purpose of making objections, will sagely presume that it would be the policy of Canada, much less of the General Government, to draft the able bodied men of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and send them up to protect Canada, leaving the lower Provinces a resistless prey to any invader. But one of the most odious features of the whole scheme to those who call themselves Anti's is, that it seems to anticipate, to some extent, a military and naval system of self defence. Well, what have we done this Session, in acceding to the request of the Government, which immediately represents the Anti-Confederates of the Province? We first placed all our revenues under their control for military purposes, and then authorized the formation of a navy—though only of four ships—and thus, before Confederation, adopted a principle which we have so frequently been taunted with, as a proposed outrage under Confederation. It does occur to me, that if we intend to support land and sea forces, we had better wait for union, as, certainly, we will be in a better position to provide for the requirements of those services than now. The arguments against Confederation, because it would induce an army and navy, have answered themselves. It has been urged as an objection, that it is proposed to purchase the mines and minerals of Newfoundland. That Colony pays more into the general revenue, according to population, than any other Province, because she imports nearly everything consumed; but with the bonus we give her, and the purchase of her Crown Lands and minerals, we do not give her so much as she pays us back.

But, say some, you give the power of taxation to the General Government. Well, but to whom is that power intrusted? To men elected by ourselves to make our laws; our own representatives, bound by every tie of interest, of patriotism, of self-respect, to do justly; but a great many people think that giving the power of taxation to the General Government is giving it to Canada, because it is proposed that the General Parliament will meet there. No matter whether that Parliament meets at St. John, at Hali-

fax, or Quebec, it would give the Province in which it assembles no more influence than the rest; we will not give our money, or the power of raising or disposing of that money into the hands of Canada, but into those of the General Government—our own representatives. Then, it is said we will send all our revenues, collected at our Custom Houses and otherwise, to Canada. But, your honors, it is a great fallacy to suppose that we will pay the General Government more than we receive. We will retain everything we collect to pay the subsidies, and the General Government will have to pay us much more than they receive; hut let us see what we will give the General Gauernment.

The average of our revenues for the past five years is £190,000, to which, if you choose, add the Railway earnings, beihg about £10,000 per annum, makes £200,000, which is the amount we will give the General Government, assuming they adopt our present tariff, which, I think, is altogether likely. Canada's tariff is essentially the same as ours, and that of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island will have to be raised a little. There will be no particular occasion to put on a much higher tariff, because, after going beyond a certain point, the tax cannot be collected, and smuggling is the consequence; and beside, people have no great desire to tax themselves for amusement, when it is not necessary. We give the General Government, then, $800,000; now, let us see what we get back. First, the interest on our debt of seven millions is $420,000, or more than half the whole sum we pay; we will then be saved the necessity and trouble of obtaining Bills of Exchange, and making monthly remittances to England; all that trouble will be taken off our hands. At this day, the interest on our debt is over £90,000. When I brought in my retrenchment scheme some years ago, the interest was £84,000. I showed then that it must increase, and since that time £6,000 per annum has been added to it. We have already placed "Western and Eastern Extension" under contract; the other branches, to St. Stephen, Woodstock, Fredericton, are going on, or will be shortly, so that almost immediately our debt will have reached the $7,000,000; but if it does not, we get the interest on the amount less, back until such time as the maximum is reached, so that it amounts to the same thing.

A great portion of our Civil List will be paid by the General Government, including Judges' and Lieut. Governor's salary to the amount of £7,250; for the protection of the Revenue, £10,250; Judicial expenses, £1,000; Post Office Department, deficiency which we now pay, £6,000; Geological Survey, £500; Agricultural Grant, £2,500; Steamboat inspections, £250; management of the Indians, £300; Emigration, £350; outside Fisheries, £500; Legislative expenses, £4,000; there is a nice little sum for unforseen expenses, £1,500; Delegations—in omitting the necessity for that new institution, we will save at least £500 a year.

When confederated, we will save the expense for Militia, which, under the present order of things, will this year not cost less than $50,000, and, I fear, not less than $80,000; however, we will call it $50,000; then the subsidy at 80 cents, $204,000; Casual and Territorial Revenue, and Export Duty, $100,000, we will get that back, besides the cost of collecting. When we have the Inter-Colonial Railroad completed, and my hon. friend Mr. Todd is Surveyor General, I have do doubt the public lands of the Province will yield a revenue of $200,000.

The several amounts I have named, which we save or receive, make a total of $909,600, or $109,600 which we receive from, in excess of what we pay to, the General Government, and in addition to all this, there is the subsidy of $63,000 a year, for ten years.

Now let us see, your honors, how New Brunswick will stand if she don't go into Confederation; and I have prepared a budget, which is about what my honble. friends of the Govt. will have to adopt. There is the interest on our debt $360,000, which when we provide for the several railroads now in contemplation will amount to $452,000; besides the ordinary appropriations, in all amounting to $772,000 without including the extensions; and where, I ask, is the road money to come from after that; there is none left for the purpose, and it can only be obtained by increased taxes.

I may now be asked what my budget for local provincial receipts and expenditures, under the new system will be. I shall show your honors; and this budget, I hope, will apply to 1867, by which time confederation probably will be consummated. I have made allowance for the same number of Members in the Legislature as now. Some of your honors no doubt will have gone to

Ottawa, to take seats in the General Parliament, a position to which from my advanced age I cannot aspire, but others will fill your places here.

EXPENDITURES IN UNION, N. B.

Civil List, say	£4,000
Legislature	6,000
Judicial	2,000
Lunatic Assylum	4,000
Penitentiary	2,000
Public Health	1,000
Bear Bounties	1,000
Public Works	35,000
Schools	30,000
Contingencies	6,825
	£91,825

RECEIPTS IN UNION N. B.

Export duties and causual and territorial revenues returned,	£25,000
Subsidy of 80 cents per head on population by census of 1861	51,000
Auction duties	75
Further subsidy for ten years of £63,000 per year	15,750
	£91,825

I may remark that the export and casual revenue will be doubled as soon as the Intercolonial Railroad is built.

Now, your honors, this is no fictitious representation—no delusion—but plain statements of fignres, which may be miscalculated but are substantially correct, and I am quile willing to endorse them, and have them go to the country for criticism and investigation, satisfied that they will show to any thinking man that, at all events, the scheme is not as it has been represented, disastrous, and I think it will pretty well satisfy most men who are willing to be satisfied, that so far from being financially disastrous, it is financially advantageous.

Such are my convictions; such were my views when, four years ago, I raised my warning voice, and pointed out how the Province was rapidly progresing, as it still progresses, to a state, if not of financial bankruptcy, to one of great financial embarrassment, when we should be compelled to forego our ordinary appropriations for public works, and husband all our resources to meet our liabilities abroad.

Suppose we do not go into Union for two years, the interest on our debt will, including the money required for railway extensions now in progress, as I have already shown, have swelled up to £113,500, not including Barings', brokerage, and similar charges, which will, doubtless, bring the amount up to £115,000. Now, I want to know how that money is to be provided; I want gentlemen who come after me, on the other side, to show distinctly, where the money, out of Confederation, is to come from, and how the results I have predicted can be avoided. It is time the people of this country knew and looked at the stern facts of the case; became alive to the alarming future before them, unless they embrace the one remedial alternative, and relieve themselves and the country of the embarassment, by entering Confederation.

There are some persons who delude themselves with the idea that the Inter-Colonial Railway will be built under the old arrangement with Canada. Now, suppose it was, what would be our proportion of the interest on our share of 3½ twelfths? It would be $175,000 per annum, a sum we never could pay out of union.

With our present debt of £90,000, and our ordinary appropriations provided for by law added thereto, I am justified in what I have said, that there will be but a small balance left this year for expenditure on Roads; but in another year, if we remain out of union, we will have to add to our expenditures the provisions for the several Railway extensions, Eastern and Western, with the branches named, which will swell the amount of the interest of our debt to £115,000, leaving the ordinary appropriations still to be provided for.

But it will be said, that if we go into union, the General Government only provides for $7,000,000, which will not cancel our liabilities, and therefore we will still be in debt. I reply, that a considerable poriton of that debt will have been produced by the work on Eastern extension, and that whatever we have advanced on that construction will be returned by the General Govt., as no doubt they will purchase the right to the whole Eastern extension, and include it in the Intercolonial Road; so that in union we will be practically free from debt, but out of union, except by the levying of a tariff so high as to be practically impossible to collect, burdensome and extravagant, I do not see how it can be shown that we can surmount our financial difficulties.

I am surprised to learn that the Govt. have made some arrangements in England, for borrowing £25,000, of which £5,000 have already been drawn, additional to our present debt. I am astonished that the Government will persist in following this

downward road to financial ruin, when it has been frequently shewn that we cannot with any safety go beyond the existing debt. I say, these facts are alarming; we may be prepared to forego the ordinary appropriations, but how can the Legislature and the people sanction the extraordinary course of contracting additional loans, without legal authority. Again I call upon those who are satisfied with the present state of things; who say we are well enough off, and wish us to leave well alone, to show how we are to provide for our financial responsibilities, —how to preserve our credit unimpeached. In a short time, the Province will have to pay £90,000, due under the loan contracted for Savings' Bank Debentures, that will have to be paid in bulk, although when paid, of course it will reduce the *pro rata* of our yearly interest; a portion of this amount falls due the present year, about £17,000. Can the Government, who ought to be prepared, show that they will be in a position to meet those claims. It is all very fine for gentlemen to say, let well enough alone, and the Government may suppose that the loan of £25,000 now effected with Messrs. Baring, will tide them over pressing difficulties, but we know that on the day the interest becomes due in England, it must be paid. British capitalists will not understand any reasons urged for delay in these payments, and therefore it is that ample provision must be made beforehand, to meet the liabilities of the Province abroad, and I shall wait and watch very anxiously for the developments of hon. gentlemen in opposition to Confederation, calculated to show that we are in a position of safety, or that there is any prospect, out of Union, of outriding the threatening storm.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES.

It has been asked, how are the expenses of the General Government to be provided for? It is important first to know what those expenses will be. The first liability of the General Government will be the interest on Eighty millions of dollars, the united Provincial debts of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, $4,800,000; Subsidy, 80 cents per head, $2,633,,404; Civil List, $400,000; Parliamentary expenses, $400,000; Administration of Justice, $400,000; Customs and Excise, $400,000; Militia, $1,000,000; Public works, $600,000; Emigration, $200,000; Additional subsidy to Newfoundland, $150,000; Interest on debt of Newfoundland, $148,000; or a total of Expenditures of $11,131,404.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT ASSETS.

Now let us see how it is proposed to provide the means to meet the estimated Expenditures. The Tariff at three dollars and ten cents per head on the whole population, that being the average at present of the Tariff of New Brunswick gives $11,244,000; one and a quarter per cent on the debt of Canada, $781,250; three fourths of one per cent on the Railway debt of New Brunswick, $37,500; making a total of assets—not including the profits of the Nova Scotia Railways, or the Crown Lands and Mines of Newfoundland—amounting to $12,062,750.

Your honors will observe, that I have put down the Parliamentary expenses at $400,000, and that, I think, will be sufficient, remembering that the time of that Parliament will not be frittered away over discussions on trivial local matters, but will be devoted to great national interests.

With regard to the tariff, I think my mode of putting it is palpably correct; the amount per capita being that paid by this Province on an average for the past two or three years; and it has not been found burdensome or restrictive, so that no one can complain on the score of the amount; and then, your honors, who pays this. Not the poor laborers or peasants of the country, to any great extent, but those who buy silks, satins, and British imported goods, generally; those who enjoy the luxuries of life. And it is worthy of consideration, that our revenues amounted to $3 10 per head, when the trade of the Province was sluggish, and as a consequence the revenues were comparatively low; but how much more may not be produced from the same tariff, when in union every branch of business will have received a new stimulus; when our railroads and other public works will be going on vigorously; when emigration will be flowing in to settle our wild lands, and to work upon the railroads, then, as your honors will perceive, the $3.10 per head will produce a very much larger sum than with our present population, and the present position of our trade. In Confederation, I confidently think there will be an annual increase of population of 115,000, being at the rate of 3 1-2 per cent; that at $3.10 will give an

additional $400,000 a year, revenue. The second year it will be $800,000, and the third year, $1,200,000; so that long before the Intercolonial railroad is built, the General Govt. will have a surplus of funds to pay the interest, which amounts at five per cent. to $560,000 per annum. And all this will have been accomplished without any necesssary increase in the ordinary expenditure, either local or general. I have referred to Emigration. Not only will union bring large numbers of railway laborers here who will become permanent settlers, but the facilities we will be in a position to offer, and the high taxes in the United States will induce a large influx from that country, of men with means, seeking investment for their capital in manufactures, in developing the mineral resources of the Province, in adding to its material wealth, and providing for labor more extended operations. We have already had gentlemen of this kind come among us; as a class, I have found them very desirable emigrants. They know their business, and attend to it thoroughly; they don't dabble in local politics; their operations are based on ready money, not on credit, and consequently all classes of society in which they operate, feel the benefits. But am I told that the same persons will come here if we do not go into Confederation? be it so. But they certainly will come if we do become confederate, and then there will be many additional inducements to invite them.

If we remain as we are, isolated, all revenues above that which we raise now, must be by direct taxation, because, as I have shown, our tariff is as high as will be borne or can be collected, and the only alternative will be resort to direct taxation. The English race are very impatient of taxation, and will not submit to direct taxation if it can be possibly avoided. In fact much increase of taxation by the imposition of a direct tax in this Province, as now situated, will amount to confiscation of property.

But suppose in Confederation there should be necessity for increasing the tariff, the additional tax would be imposed, as I have before stated, by our own Representatives. Can we suppose that the French in Lower Canada will be disposed to tax themselves unnecessarily, or that New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are so enamoured of taxation as to be disposed to put on any unnecessary burdens of that kind; at all events, before first endeavouring to lessen the expenditures? And there would be every motive to influence the General Legislature to forbear imposing avoidable taxation, because the members would be brought to book by their constituencies, who would be appealed to every few years. He would be a bold minister indeed who would get up in Parliament and propose a tax not justified by some great public exigency.

So much with regard to financial matters.

Your honors, there is a large class of persons in the Province, who never enquire into financial matters at all, who do not investigate the Public Accounts, who don't know and don't care, so long as the ordinary appropriations are made, where the money comes from; and these persons careless of consequences, looking neither at causes nor results, will meet us with "let well alone." There are farmers who, so long as seed-time and harvest come, and crops grow, without regarding the general interest, say, "let well alone." The Bankers who grow wealthy, even on the exigencies of trade, say "let well alone." Rich merchants who have and do control the business of the country to a large extent, say, "let well alone." Obstructives generally, who only look at one side of the question, and fail to comprehend how they must reap an abundant share in the general harvest of rich results from whatever advances the prosperity of the whole country, say "let well alone," because it seems well with their own personal interests. But the statesman, the patriot, who desires to see the individual Provinces of British North America advance, who desires for them a future compatible with their position as members of the great Empire of Britain; as territories possessing resources abundant and rich in all that is calculated, properly developed, to make a country great; possessing hardy, industrious intelligent populations; I say the true statesman, and true patriot, influenced by such desires, and seeing these Provinces as they are, under the present proscriptive regulations, working out each its own narrowed career of selfishness; in debt, and running still deeper in debt; without satisfaction in the present or hope for the future, must hail the opportunity now offered for uniting these fragmentary territories, giving them at once unity, position, influence, wealth and power.

I remember a remarkable instance that proves how men will be influenced by selfishness, which so often blinds people to their own interest. Some years ago the road from Sackville to Halifax was shortened some nine miles, by opening up a new piece which brought into the market a large tract of valuable marsh land near the Tantramar River. On one occasion I was talking with an old political supporter of mine, who owned lands on that marsh, one who I considered, for a variety of reasons, owed me some political allegiance. But I found my friend cold and distant, and not disposed as heretofore to give me his support. I asked him the reason for the change. "Oh!" said he, "you injured me by having that road made. Before it was built, I could buy marsh for £9 an acre, but now I cannot purchase it under eighteen pounds." He, like a great many others who cry "let well alone," never thought of the fact that his own marsh had doubled in value by the road, as well as that of his neighbors.

As I have stated, I do not intend to touch upon the great political and commercial advantages of Confederation, nor am I going to dwell at length upon that question which has to some extent been mixed up with this, namely, annexation, but I cannot avoid a few remarks on this latter point.

It is remarkable that the Newspapers of the United States, with the exception of the *Scottish American Journal* and *Albion*, whose proclivities are all British, have almost unanimously exhibited a feeling hostile to the present Colonial aspirations for union among themselves. If they were just they would point us to their own country as an evidence of what Confederation might do for us; they would tell us that we enter into Confederation now possessing advantages far beyond those which they had when the States became united. When they became confederated they had to tax themselves not only for the support of their local institutions, but also that of the General Government, from which they got no pecuniary returns, while we receive more from the General Government than we give to it. They might tell us how that notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the States, taking a statesmanlike view of their position risked the consequences, became united and with a glorious result.

Again, we have no Slavery question, thank God, to disturb our union. The fiat having long since gone forth that slaves cannot breathe English air, we shall not be troubled with that perplexing question, or have to determine whether a slave vote is of two-fifths the value of a white man's vote, or what its value is.

But suppose the people of this Province absolutely refuse to listen to the British Government, and will not go into Confederation, I fear the result must inevitably, be annexation to the United States. And I am aware that some persons say it would be as well. But we talk about taxation here. What is the taxation in the United States? On a common farm, the owner must pay from $80 to $120, which in this country would amount to absolute confiscation.

I appeal to the Opposition, to know what they expect to do. Can you hope to stem or stop the rushing tide of public opinion, that shows itself in every despatch from the Colonial Office, and comes up in unmistakable utterances from the people of the Provinces—all in favor of Confederation as a necessity? We like to hear of the arrival upon our shores of British troops, as it is an assurance that the policy of the Bright party, once threatening, but now grown "small by degrees and beautifully less," does not prevail in the Councils of Britain. We are glad to know of the feeling in England, that her pride in her Colonies and for her Colonies has been re-awakened, as with the suggestion of Confederation a new and brighter page opened up before them, and that she has now given us the promise that, if united among ourselves, her prestige, her power, her wealth, shall all be exerted to maintain that union inviolate. And will our Government now alone stand in the way; how if they do, can they expect to tide over the exigency? Will they say the country has not changed its opinion, while they palpably admit the fact, by not filling up a single public vacancy, and dare not open a constituency in the whole Province? If, as stated, the people are against Confederation, they might test it, and ought to, rather than keep some of the public Offices vacant, and some, as that of the Postmaster General, only filled temporarily. But your honors, they knew as we know, that the feeling is constantly growing in favor of union in this Province. In Newfoundland the feeling is improving in the same direction, as we know from the fact that a Resolution against the principle was recently negatived in the Legislature of that Colony. The intelligence

has recently flashed over the lines from Halifax, that two of the leading minds of the Anti-Confederate party have given in their adhesion to the scheme.

I cannot imagine what the Government expect to do. The attempts made by some of my hon. friends to get information have been time and again baffled, but I hope that when the want of confidence debate down stairs has concluded, the Government will let us know what their policy is, and what they expect. Can they hope to be able to change the opinion of the statesmen of England, or are they influenced by a feeling of pride against acknowledging themselves wrong? The position assumed by England gives them an excuse if they desire it?

I was myself one of the delegates who was most slow to come into the scheme. I confess, your honors, that my conservative predilections, strengthened by the recollections of the many events and scenes I have participated in and witnessed during the last forty years, in the Government and Legislature of the Province, all tend to prevent me giving in a sudden adhesion to this great change; but the long array of arguments and reasons brought out by the discussion and consideration of the subject, whether viewed politically, commercially, or financially in reference to the interests of the Province; and above all, its absolute necessity in order to preserve and perpetuate our connection with the Mother country, and to secure the power and resources of the Empire for our protection in the hour of need, have convinced me that the union of the British North American Colonies on the principle of the Quebec Scheme, is for the best interest of the people of all the Colonies, and of New Brunswick in particular. I have no other motive for my support of this measure.

I pass by as unworthy of notice, the miserable and uncharitable imputations which a portion of the press has attributed to our delegates at the Quebec Conference. As for myself, your honors know that office has had no charms for me for many years past; and now that I am on the threshold of threescore years and ten, you can readily understand why the attractions of office have still less effect on me.

I therefore support the Resolution, because I have the solemn conviction, that it is, in the words of our Address, "consistent with the interests of this Province."

GENERAL FINANCIAL STATEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH CONFEDERATION.

NEW BRUNSWICK OUT OF UNION, 1866.

Estimated Expenditures.

Interest on public debt,	$360,600
Collection and Protection of Revenue.	41,000
Expenses of the Legislature,	40,000
Judicial Expenses,	12,000
Civil List,	58,000
Lunatic Asylum,	16,000
Penitentiary,	8,000
Agriculture,	10,000
Fisheries,	2,000
Public Health,	4,000
Post Office Deficiency,	24,000
Pensions,	400
Bear Bounties,	4,000
Indians,	1,200
Steamboat Inspection,	1,000
Emigration Expenses,	1,400
Geological Survey,	2,000
Steamboat Subsidy,	8,000
Unforseen Expenses,	6,000
Militia,	50,000
Schools, as provided for by Law,	120,000
Delegation,	2,000
Balance,	28,400
	$800,000

Estimated Revenues.

Arising from Customs, Railway receipts, Export Duty, Casual and Territorial Revenues, and Railway earnings, taking the average of the last five years, in round numbers,	$800,000

NEW BRUNSWICK IN UNION

Revenues.		*Expenditures.*	
Subsidy,	$204,000	Portion of Civil List,	$18,600
Casual and Territorial Revenue, and Expor. Duty,	100,000	Legislative Expenses,	24,000
Subsidy ten years,	63,000	Judicial Expenses,	8,000
Auction Duties,	600	Lunatic Asylum,	16,000
		Penitentiary,	8,000
		Public Health,	4,000
		Bear Bounties,	400
		Pensions,	120,000
		School Appropriations,	100,000
		Roads and Bridges,	65,200
		Balance to cover unforseen contingencies,	2,400
	$367,600		$367,600

STATEMENT OF WHAT NEW BRUNSWICK GIVES TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, IN UNION, AND WHAT SHE RECEIVES IN RETURN.

We give the General Government.

Supposing we give all our Revenues, arising from Customs, Railway Imposts, Export Duties, Casual and Territorial Revenues, and Railway earnings, ... $800,000

We receive from, or the General Government pays for us.

Interest on $7,000,000, ...	$420,000
Charges incident to our present debt, Brokerage, &c., ...	4,000
Subsidy, 80 cents, on 252,000 souls,	204,000
Further Subsidy for ten years, ..	63,000
Portions of Civil List, such as Salaries of Lieut. Governor, Private Secretary, and Judges, ...	29,000
Protection and Collection of Revenues,	41,000
Portion of Judicial expenses to be provided by General Government, ..	4,000
Post Office deficiency, ...	24,000
Geological Survey, ...	3,000
Agricultural Grants, ...	10,000
Steamboat Inspection, ...	1,000
Indians, ...	1,200
Emigration, ...	1,400
Unforseen Expenses, ...	6,000
Delegations, ...	2,000
Militia and Navy, ...	50,000
Steamboat Subsidy, ...	8,000
Reduction in Legislative and local expenses, ...	16,000
Export Duty, and Casual and Territorial Revenue, returned to Province,	100,000
Fishery Expenses, ...	2,000
Total we receive, or save,	$989,600
Total that we give, ..	800,000
Balance in favor of New Brunswick,	$189,600

HON. MR. MITCHELL'S SPEECH—APRIL 14.

GOVERNMENTAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

Hon. Mr. Mitchell, having raised to speak, proposed in the first place to read the entire correspondence, between his Excellency and his late Government, when on motion the Clerk was directed to relieve Mr. Mitchell and read the same, which he did, as follows:—

To His Excellency the Honorable Arthur Hamilton Gordon, C. M. G. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of New Brunswick, &c., &c., &c.

The Executive Council in Committee, beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's memorandum of the 7th inst., and the Reply therein referred to, which are as follows:—

"His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor transmits to his Council a copy of the Reply, which he has this afternoon returned to an address of the Legislative Council requesting His Excellency to transmit to Her Majesty an Address, praying that Her Majesty will be pleased to cause a measure for the Union of the British North American Provinces to be introduced into the Imperial Parliament."

(Signed) ARTHUR H. GORDON.

FREDERICTON, April 7th, 1866.

Mr. President and Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council.

"I will immediately transmit your Addresses to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in order that it may be laid at the foot of the Throne.

"Her Majesty the Queen has already been pleased to express a deep interest in the Union of her North American Dominions, and will, no doubt, graciously appreciate this decided expression of your opinion.

"I rejoice to believe that the avowal of your desire that all British North America should unite in one Community under one strong and efficient Government, cannot but tend to hasten the accomplishment of this great measure."

The Council would subjoin a copy of the Address referred to in the above.

"*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—

"We, Your Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects, the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, in Provincial Parliament assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty with the conviction that a Union of Your Majesty's British North American Colonies, based on the Resolutions adopted at the Conference of Delegates from the several Colonies held at Quebec on the tenth day of October 1864, is an object highly to be desired, essential to there future prosperity and influence, and calculated alike to strengthen and perpetuate the ties which bind them to Your Gracious Majesty's Throne and Government, and humbly pray that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of thus uniting the Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward's Island, in one Government."

The Council in reply would respectfully remark that in their opinion it was incumbent upon Your Excellency to consult Your Constitutional Advisers in regard to the Answer so given, and in assuming to yourself the right to reply to such Address without consulting them, Your Excellency has not acted in accordance with the true spirit of the Constitution.

In this connection the Council would beg to refer to the statement appended hereto, giving an account of two interviews between Your Excellency and the Attorney General. The Reply is given by Your Excellency to the Legislative Council is a distinct and emphatic approval of their proceedings, the responsibility of which your advisers are unwilling to assume for the following reasons:

1st. That in any measure involving an organic change in the Constitution and politi-

cal rights and privileges of the people they should be consulted, and unless approved of by them, no such measure should be adopted or forced upon them.

2nd. That in March last, a dissolution took place professedly with a view to ascertain the sense of the people upon the Quebec Scheme, and they pronounced unmistakeably against its adoption by large majorities.

3rd. That the Representatives of the People at the last Session of the Legislature passed Resolutions condemnatory of such Scheme, by a majority of 29 to 10.

4th. That the Legislative Council are not elected by the people, and are not constitutionally responsible to them for their Legislative conduct, and have no rightful authority to pray Her Majesty to give effect, by Imperial Legislation, to any measure which the People have rejected.

5th. That such proceeding violates every principle of responsibility and self-government, and is subversive of the rights and liberties of the people, and seeks to take from them their Constitution, not only without their consent but against their clearly expressed wishes.

6th. That such a course is calculated to bring the Legislative Council and House of Assembly into collision, and disturb that harmony that should subsist between them, and manifests an entire disregard of the power and majesty of the People.

That the Legislative Council have a legitimate right to express their opinion upon any public question the Council do not deny; but to invoke the aid of the British Government to coerce the people into Confederation, is a proceeding in the opinion of this Council without parallel and wholly unwarrantable.

The Council would further remark, that they have good cause to believe Your Excellency has, ever since the opening of the Legislature, consulted and advised with gentlemen of the opposition, and made known to them matters which they think should be regarded as confidential. This they feel Your Excellency has continued to do, notwithstanding the repeated objections of one or more Members of the Council who told Your Excellency that it was not right, and that it gave the opposition a decided advantage in the Debate then pending; and your Excellency having taken the advice, as they truly believe, of a Gentleman of the Opposition, as to the answer given to the Legislative Council on Saturday last, instead of that of your Constitutional Advisers, they would respectfully express their conviction that such a course was unconstitutional, and without precedent in any country where Responsible Government exists.

The Council would further state that the Government were supported by a majority of the Members of the House of Assembly, of which fact Your Excellency was fully aware.

Under these circumstances, the undersigned would beg respectfully to tender to Your Excellency the resignation of their offices as Executive Councillors.

Respectfully submitted.

A. J. Smith,
George L. Hatheway,
B. Botsford,
W. H. Odell,
John W. Cudlip,
J. V. Troop.

Memorandum of Conversation between His Excellency and Mr. Smith.

On Saturday the 7th inst., about 11 o'clock, A. M., I called at Government House and had an interview with His Excellency, and in the course of conversation, the proceedings of the Legislative Council were referred to, when I spoke in terms of disapproval of the course which they had adopted in reference to the subject of Union. Something was said about the presentation of the Address, and His Excellency's reply thereto, when he asked me what answer I would advise, I replied that in my opinion the answer to be given should simply be that he would transmit it to Her Majesty. His Excellency said he would think of it and see me again. He did not state that he intended to receive them that day, and I had not the most distant idea that he intended to do so. I then parted with him.

A few minutes before three o'clock of the afternoon of the same day, in my place in the House of Assembly, I received a note from him saying that he wished to see me at once. I immediately repaird to Government House, and after a short conversation with him upon other matters, he informed me that he was going to receive the Legislative Council with their Addres at three o'clock. I expressed my surprise at this, and inquired what answer he intended to make. He then handed me a paper which contained his proposed answer, accompanied with a Memorandum for the Executive Council. I expressed

my disapproval of it, and complained that he had not advised with his Council before preparing it; that as they were responsible for it, they should at least be consulted before it was given. He remarked, that if they did not approve of it they could relieve themselves of responsibility. I replied, even if that were true, was it courteous and fair that the Council should be treated in that way; that what they asked from His Excellency was fair play, not as a favor, but as a matter of right? He then proposed that I should drive down to the House of Assembly and see my colleagues, and return in half an hour, and he would keep the Legislative Council (who in the the meantime had arrived at Government House) waiting until I returned. I said I could not do this, that the Debate on the Vote of Want of Confidence was going on, and they could not leave the House, and besides, they could not possibly consider so important a question in a few minutes. His Excellency then proposed to send one of the carriages that were standing at the door for them. I then stated they could not leave the House. He replied, "I suppose not." I further stated that it was unfair and ungenerous, and not such treatment as the Council has a right to expect, to be called upon in this sudden and extraordinary way in a matter so important. I expressed my condemnation of the course adopted by the Legislative Council, and urged the impropriety of their praying Her Majesty the Queen to cause a law of the Imperial Parliament to be passed, giving effect to a scheme of Union which both the People and House of Assembly had rejected by overwhelming majorities, and that I never would consent to any Address which authorized the Imperial Parliament to pass an Act for Union without reference to the people. I thought His Excellency seemed disposed to yield the point and strike out the last paragraph of the answer which I considered very objectionable. He then asked me to excuse him, and left the room to consult, as I thought at the time, and from information received since, I am confirmed in that opinion, a gentleman of the opposition and a member of the Legislative Council, who was in the house at the time. He returned in a few minutes, and after some conversation similar to that already detailed, told me that he would deliver the answer as it was, and send me a copy in the evening. I remonstrated against such conduct, but concluded by saying that if he had resolved upon that course, it was in vain to protract the interview. I then left him.

(Signed) A. J. Smith.

The Lieutenant Governor has received from the Members of the Executive Council a Minute tendering the resignation of their seats at the Council Board.

The reason assigned by them for this step is a disinclination to accept responsibility of a reply made by His Excellency to the Legislative Council, when requested by that body to transmit to Her Majesty an address praying that a scheme for the Union of the British North American Provinces may be introduced into the Imperial Parliament.

Several cases of this disinclination are enumerated by the Council; they may, however, all be resumed in the objection that the Legislative Council, in adopting the address in question, overstepped the limits of action prescribed to it by constitutional principles and usage.

In this view His Excellency cannot at all concur, and he perceives with regret the name of a member of the Upper House, for whose character and abilities he has a sincere respect appended to reasoning, which would, in His Excellency's opinion, go far to destroy the position of that character as an independent and co-ordinate branch of the Legislature.

The papers on which the address in question was founded, were laid before both Houses of the Legislature by Her Majesty's express command at the commencement of the present Session.

It had at that time long been known to Her Majesty's Government, that the General Election in New Brunswick in 1865, had terminated unfavorably to the cause of Union, and the communication of these papers was made to the Provincial Parliament in the avowed hope that the question might be again considered and more favorably received there.

The Address in answer to His Excellency's Speech at the opening of the Session, even as originally proposed, conveyed an assurance that those papers should receive a careful and respectful attention from the Legislative Council.

But the chief documents which the members of that body thus pledged themselves to consider, were the Resolutions adopted at Quebec, the approval of that scheme by Her

Majesty, and the expressed hope on the part of Her Majesty's Government, that its provisions might be favorably reconsidered in New Brunswick.

On the questions then thus submitted to them by Her Majesty's command, the Legislative Council was bound to form and to express an opinion. In so doing they have intimated their approval of a Union of the British North American Colonies, and indicated the basis on which it might in their opinion be accomplished.

It is neither constitutional nor reasonable to maintain that the Legislative Council is incompetent to act with reference to a scheme thus submitted to them, until after its previous approval by the House of Assembly, nor can it be imagined that the Legislative Council alone is debarred from that right of appeal to Her Majesty which is accorded to all her subjects without distinction.

The Council also take exception to His Excellency's having delivered this reply without previously communicating to them the terms in which it was couched.

Without enquiring how far their Ministerial responsibility, from which it is always in their power to escape, requires that theCouncil should possess a previous knowledge of all the Lieutenant Governor's words and actions, His Excellency must observe that the non-communication to the Council, of the Reply in question, was the result not of design but of accident, and that it was his intention and desire to have submitted the terms of his reply to the consideration of his Council.

The language employed by His Excellency to the Legislative Council was not, however, inconsistent with the policy which his advisers had informed him they were inclined to follow; or in his judgment, with the reply which, with the knowledge and consent of his Council, he had returned a few days previously to an Address from the same body. His words were that he "rejoiced to believe that the avowal of the desire of the Legislative Council that all British North America should unite in one community under one strong and efficient Government, cannot but tend to hasten the accomplishment of this great measure." This by no means conveys an approval of the particular scheme to the provisions of which his Council strongly object, although it does express a hope that an Union of the British American Provinces might shortly be accomplished. But from previous communications with the leader of the Government, His Excellency was fully entitled to assume that this hope was shared by his Council.

On the 8th of January His Excellency received from the Honorable P. D. Wilmot a letter tendering the resignation of his seat in the Executive Council, and assigning as his chief reason for so doing, the indisposition of his colleagues to entertain propositions for a closer union of the British North American Provinces. To that resignation His Excellency declined to reply until after the return of the President of the Council from Washington, which took place on the 14th February.

On the following day His Excellency had several communications with that gentleman, in the course of which His Excellency observed that the resignation of Mr. Wilmot, and the fact that the Legislature had now been summoned for despatch of business, rendered it necessary that a distinct understanding on the subject of union should be arrived at between himself and his advisers.

His Excellency stated that it would be his duty, in accordance with his instructions, to submit the question again to the Legislature on its assembly, and to express the conviction of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the benefits likely to attend the measure.

That if Mr. Wilmot were mistaken in supposing that the Government were hostile to all measures of Union, and Mr. Smith and his Colleagues were prepared to consent to the introduction into the Speech at the opening of the Session, of the recommendation of Her Majesty's Government, conveyed in Mr. Cardwell's Despatch of the 24th June 1865, it would have been His Excellency's duty to accept the proferred resignation of Mr. Wilmot; but if, on the contrary, the statement made by him in this connection were correct, it would be a matter for grave consideration whether His Excellency would not be bound to enquire whether Mr. Wilmot was prepared to undertake the responsibility of recommending to the people the adoption of a measure which was, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, calculated to confer benefit on Her Majesty's subjects in this Province, and the accomplishment of which His Excellency was directed by every means in his power to promote.

The Lieutenant Governor also endeavored, to the best of his ability, to point out to Mr. Smith the advantages of a real and effective Union of the British American Provinces, and the urgent necessity under existing circumstances for effecting such a measure.

His Excellency stated his confident belief, that if after being accepted as a basis, it were found that the details of the Scheme agreed to at Quebec were open to just and

serious objections on the part of the Maritime Provinces, the representation of the Legislatures to that effect would be certain to receive a respectful attention from Her Majesty's Government, and from that of Canada. His Excellency concluded by handing to Mr. Smith the following Memorandum:—

"CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM.

"The Lieutenant Governor has been instructed by a Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, bearing date June 24th 1865, to express to the Legislature of New Brunswick, on the next re-assembling, "the strong and deliberate opinion of Her "Majesty's Government, that it is an object "much to be desired that all the British "North American Colonies should agree to "unite in one Government;"

The Lieutenant Governor has now fixed the 8th proximo as the day upon which the General Assembly is to meet for despatch of business, and before that period it is highly desirable that he should be informed whether his Advisers are prepared to recommend the Legislature to give effects to the opinion thus expressed by Her Majesty's Government.

(Signed) A. GORDON."

Fredericton, Feburary, 1866.

This Memorandum, in compliance with Mr. Smith's urgent request, was not formally transmitted to the Council, and it was carefully read by him. and its substance communicated to his Colleagues,

Mr. Smith must have perceived, although His Excellency abstained from any expression calculated to wound the susceptibility of His Council, that had the question proposed by that Memorandum received a negative response, His Excellency was prepared to decline to accede to the recommendation that Mr. Wilmot's resignation should be accepted, and to entrust to that Gentleman the responsibility of attempting to carry into effect the policy on account of his adherence to which he desired to quit the Government which, in conjunction with Mr. Smith, he had undertaken to form.

After several communications with the other members of the Council, Mr. Smith ultimately informed His Excellency that while unable to accept in its integrity the Scheme adopted at Quebec, he and his Colleagues were not indisposed to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government; and that it appeared to him that the requisite sanction for the adoption of such a course might be obtained if the message transmitting the papers on this subject to the Legislature were referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, with an understanding that that Committee should report in favor of a measure of Union.

His Excellency replied that he had no objections to such a course, provided it was clearly understood beforehand that this reference was to be made only with a view of rendering it easier for the Government to adopt a course which they had themselves in any case resolved to pursue, and with no intention to cast upon the Committee the duty of finding a policy for the Government; for that a reference of such a description, besides involving an abdications of their proper functions as a Government, would cause much delay, and might after all terminate in a Report unfavorable to Union, in which case it is needless to point out to him that so far from any progress having been made in the desired direction, the position of the cause would have been materially injured.

Mr. Smith answered that he could not of course formerly pledge beforehand a Committee of the Legislature, but that in making himself responsible for the recommendation, it would be with the view of honestly carrying out the policy so indicated.

The Committee having reported, the next step to be taken appeared to His Excellency to be the introduction by the Government of an Address to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to take steps for the accomplishment of the Union, and His Excellency drew out the rough outline of such an Address, similar in substance to that adopted by the Canadian Parliament; but adding a representation that portions of the scheme agreed at Quebec were received with apprehension and alarm by a large part of the people of this and the adjoining Province, and a prayer that Her Majesty would be pleased, in the preparation of any Imperial Act to effect the desired Union, to give just weight to the objections urged against such provisions on their behalf, and would afford the Provincial Legislature an opportunity of considering the scheme agreed upon, before its final adoption. To this proposal His Excellency understood Mr. Smith to assent, and his impression to that effect is confirmed by finding it so stated in a note made at the time, and read by HisExcellency a few days subsequently to Mr. Smith, and in the Despatch based on

these notes, addressed by His Excellency to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Mr. Smith has lately, however, assured His Excellency that he only meant that such an Address might "grow out of the Committee," and did not intend to pledge himself in the first instance to propose it.

A controversy with respect to the words used in conversation, and the meaning intended to be conveyed by them, is seldom capable of satisfactory settlement, and it is not His Excellency's intention to discuss the greater accuracy of Mr. Smith's memory, or his own.

It is sufficient to remark that, whatever the precise nature of the course agreed to on the 17th Feburary (for the discussion lasted three days,) was, it was one to which it was felt that it would be more difficult to reconcile the friends and supporters of the Government, than its actual members, and Mr. Smith at once left Fredericton in order to prepare his principal adherents for the altered policy he proposed to pursue, asking His Excellency to observe the strickest secrecy on the subject unill his return to report either the acquiescence of his friends, or the failure of his efforts.

Mr. Smith on his return informed His Excellency, on the third of March, that his party generally were willing to assent to the course which he had consented to pursue. It was accordingly agreed to insert in the Speech on the opening of the session, the recommendation of Confederation made by Her Majesty's Government, and as early as possible to move the appointment of such a joint Committee of both Houses of the Legislature as would ensure the adoption of a Scheme of Union, whilst the objections to the Quebec Scheme were to be carefully weighed and examined at the same time by the Committee.

What the precise alterations in that Scheme were which would have satisfied Mr. Smith, His Excellency was never able exactly to learn; but he found that representation according to population, to which he entertained a strong objection, would not be regarded by him as an insuperable obstacle to union, should a larger share of representation be secured to New Brunswick in the Upper Brach of the proposed Federal Legislature.

His Excellency, considering that the speedy accomplishment of a measure of union was now a matter of almost absolute certainty, addressed to Mr. Smith, on 7th March, a letter of which the following is an extract:

"I have been much gratified, though not "surprised, to find that you are disposed to "approach the question of union, as it now "presents itself, in a large and statesman-"like spirit, and to realizes as facts the "necessities which are imposed by the actual "condition of affairs. There is nothing "which more distinguishes a statesman from "a man incompetent to deal with great "affairs, than this power of appreciating "the changes, the mode, and the obligation, "(often a most irksome one,) of acquiesing "in a course which, *per se*, he considered "open to objection, in order to prevent "evils of yet greater magnitude.

* * * * * * * * *

"You have it in your power to render the Province the inestimable service of depriving its accession to the principle of that character of a party triumph which it must otherwise wear, and of those feelings of bitterness which such a triumph would engender."

Mr. Smith did not contradict the assumption on which this letter was founded, and verbally acknowledged the terms in which His Excellency therein spoke of his conduct.

Having thus, therefore, as he presumed, ascertained that his Council were not indisposed in their own way, and at their own time, to recommend to the Legislature the adoption of an union policy, His Excellency felt that much forbearance was required, in order that this change of course might be accomplished in the manner which the Council might think least injurious to themselves, and most calculated to ensure the ultimate success of the measure; and with this view he sought to secure the co-operation of some of the leading friends of Confederation ordinarily hostile to the Government.

In doing so it was His Excellency's earnest desire to strengthen the hands of his administration in the conduct of a difficult enterprize, believing it to be of the highest importance that this measure should not be carried as a mere party triumph, but as the expression of a national

wish; nor did he suppose that the course he then took could be misunderstood by those in whose interests it was taken.

It is true that Mr. Smith, and on one occasion one other member of the Government, remonstrated against this course, and Mr. Smith observed that it was unnecessary, as he felt that he could carry out his plan without any assistance from his political opponents, an assertion the correctness of which His Excellency at the time felt disposed to question, and which, even if accurate, appeared to him of doubtful policy, as it was desirable the union should be accomplished in virtue of as general an agreement as possible among the leading men of every political section in the community; and His Excellency more than once suggested that the principal advocates of Confederation should be called upon to meet Mr. Smith and his colleagues, in order that a line of action might be adopted by common consent on a question of such general importance, and with regard to which, now that the Government had adopted the principle of union, it seemed difficult to believe that a common understanding might not be reached.

Upon the distinct understanding therefore that the Government would endeavor to procure the passage through the Legislature of Resolutions affirmative of the principle of union, and with the impression that an address praying Her Majesty to move the Imperial Parliament to give effect to such Resolutions was to be subsequently adopted, His Excellency felt justified in omitting, at the request of his Council, from his Speech at the opening of the Session, the strong recommendation of union which he would otherwise have felt it his duty to introduce, but the responsibility of which his Ministers felt they could not then assume.

To what extent the other members of the Executive Council agreed with their President, His Excellency cannot say, as except on a few occasions in February, he had little communication with any of them on the subject: but His Excellency is convinced that when Mr. Smith returned to Fredericton on the 5th March, he imagined that he would be able to carry out the pledges he had given, and that he fully intended to do so.

Since the commencement of the session, however, the course of the Government has shown little indication of a movement in this direction.

His Excellency has never ceased to urge on Mr. Smith the expediency, and indeed necessity of a bold avowal of his intended policy; nor has he failed to express his apprehensions as to the consequences of delay in doing so, believing that until that avowal was made, Mr. Smith would become daily more and more entangled in contradictory pledges, from which he would find it impossible to extricate himself, and which might act most prejudicially on the prospects of the cause; whilst at any time circumstances might call for such action on the part of His Excellency, as would place him in a position of apparent antagonism to his Council, and prove productive of very serious embarrassment. This course, however, the Government did not pursue, and it became more and more clearly apparent to His Excellency that they lacked the power—he will not suppose they lacked the will—to carry out their original intentions. Their hostility to the particular form of Union agreed to at Quebec, was distinct and emphatic, whilst their approval of even an abstract union of an indefinite character, became daily more vague and uncertain.

Declarations were publicly made that no proposition for an Union would be made during the present Session, and arguments were reported to be used by Members of the Government and their supporters, which were not only against the Quebec Scheme, but equally directed against any plan, of whatever description, for a closer union with Canada.

On more than one occasion His Excellency noticed these facts to Mr. Smith, who replied that the reports received by His Excellency as to the language used were inaccurate; and that it was desirable not to indicate too soon the line he meant to take, as it would give an advantage to his opponents, and might estrange some of his friends.

In the desire to avoid giving cause of embarrassment to his Government, and at their request, His Excellency delayed for nineteen days the reception of the Address of the Legislative Council, in reply to the Speech from the Throne; nor was it until it became evident to His Excellency that further delay in this respect would seriously imperil the harmony of the relations between himself and the Legislative Council, and the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, that he fixed a day for its reception.

Mr. Smith frequently expressed a hope that the Lieutenant Governor did not entertain any doubt as to the necessity of his intention in carrying out to the letter the understanding between them, as to the passage of Resolutions on the subject of Union.

At length the presentation of the Address to the Queen by the Legislative Council brought the question to a decided issue.

Up to that time the Government had given no public sign of an intention to grapple with the question, or to substitute any amended scheme of Union for that adopted at Quebec, and the Lieutenant Governor in accordance with his instruction—as the Representative of the Queen, and as an officer of the Imperial Government—could not but feel it his duty to express satisfaction at the avowed approval, by one branch of the Provincial Legislature, of a policy, the adoption of which had been recommended by him in his Sovereign's name, and by her command, at the commencement of the Session.

If the Lieutenant Governor's Advisers cannot concur in these sentiments, and decline to become responsible for their utterance by His Excellency, it is no doubt their duty to tender, as they have done, the resignation of the Offices held by them.

His Excellency accepts those resignations with regret. His relations with his Advisers during the past year have been harmonious and cordial; for many among their number he entertains strong feelings of personal esteem; nor can he forget to acknowledge the attention which his views have generally received at their hands, or the readiness with which his wishes have on most occasions been met by them. But he has no doubt as to the course which it is his duty to pursue in obedience to his Sovereign's commands, and in the interests of the people of British America.

His E. cellency may be in error, but he believes that vast change has already taken place in the opinions held on this subject in New Brunswick. He fully anticipates that the House of Assembly will yet return a response to the communication made to them not less favorable to the principle of Union than that given by the Upper House; and in any event, he relies with confidence on the desire of a great majority of the people of the Province to aid in building up a powerful and prosperous Nation, under the sovereignty of the British Crown. To their verdict His Excellency is ready and willing to appeal.

The Council also express dissatisfaction at His Excellency's personal conduct in regard to his relations with them.

That is a matter of infinitely less importance to the public, and will be very shortly dealt with by His Excellency, although as His Excellency has met at all times with the utmost courtesy and consideration from the members of his Government, it would be a source of sincere regret to him to believe that he was justly liable to any imputation of such a nature.

That a leading member of the opposition was more than once communicated with by His Excellency is perfectly true. This communication was made with Mr. Smith's full knowledge, and in the belief on His Excellency's part, that it would facilitate Mr. Smith's accomplishment of the end in view. The gentleman in question met Mr. Smith at Government House on the fifth of March, and His Excellency believes that a very protracted interview subsequently took place between them; nor was it until a very late period that His Excellency relinquished the hope of seeing a combination effected to smooth the passage of the contemplated resolutions.

His Excellency thinks it right also to state, that his reply was prepared by himself alone, and that his Council are in error in supposing that its terms were the subject of advice from any member of the opposition.

His Excellency does not admit the entire accuracy of Mr. Smith's report of his conversations with him, appended to the Minute of Council, but at the same time readily acknowledges that the difference between his own impression of those conversations and that of Mr. Smith, is only such as might naturally arise under the circumstances. Mr. Smith has, however, omitted to state that at his first interview, His Excellency pointed out, as he had frequently done before, the embarrassing results of the non-avowal of his Union policy, and observed that the Legislative Council had now passed an Address, at the adoption of which he should probably feel obliged to express satisfaction.

The Lieutenant Governor of course feels that previous communication between himself and his Advisers as to any step he is about to take, is, when practicable, both desirable and essential, and it was His Excellency's full intention to have afforded the Council ample opportunity for the consideration of his Reply, an intention which he much regrets that accident should have frustrated.

The Committee of the Legislative Council did not wait on His Excellency till after 12 o'clock, and until that Address was before him, he could not officially communicate with the Council on the subject of his Reply to it.

Immediately on its reception he sent for Mr. Smith, intending to put the draft Reply into his hands, and request him to communicate it to his colleagues.

Mr. Smith, however, appears not to have received His Excellency's note until half past two o'clock, and His Excellency's intentions in this respect were consequently foiled.

So strong was His Excellency's wish that the contents of his reply should be known to the Council before its delivery, that when, during their last interview, His Excellency left the room as stated by Mr. Smith, it was not, as that gentlemen supposes, to consult a member of the Opposition respecting the omission or retention of a paragraph in his Reply—a point on which His Excellency received no advice from any other person than Mr. Smith—but for the purpose of ascertaining whether it might not even then be possible to postpone the reception of the Address for a few hours. He found, however, that it would have been impossible to do so without gross discourtesy to the Legislative Council.

(Signed) ARTHUR GORDON.
Fredericton, 12th April, 1866.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—I have waited some time for the arrival of the hon. gentleman late a member of the Government, and the gentleman who has given him his chief support in this House; but it would not be right for me to detain your honors any longer, and I shall therefore proceed to make some statements and explanations with regard to the position of the Government which has just assumed the position of Constitutional advisers of His Excellency; and also to some statements put forth by the honble. the leader of the late Government.

I am placed in an unusual position,—one which nothing but a sense of duty to my country in the present emergency would induce me to assume. Upon the resignation of the late Government, His Excellency, pursuing a strictly constitutional course, sent for my hon. friend, Mr. Botsford, who moved the Address which led directly to that result, to consult with him as to the formation of a new Council. My hon. friend did me the honor to consult with me, and we agreed that Messrs. Tilley and Wilmot were the gentlemen to whom His Excellency should entrust the formation of a new Cabinet. A difficulty presented itself in the fact that Mr. Tilley was not in the Legislature. It is due to Mr. Tilley to say, and the course does him honor, that when the opportunity was offered him of assuming a foremost position, as leader of the Government, in carrying to its accomplishment the most important measure ever submitted to a Colonial people or Colonial statesmen, he declined, under the circumstance of his not having a seat in the Legislature, joining the Government, except in a subordinate position. I have pleasure, however, in expressing the belief, that but a very short time will elapse before Mr. Tilley will represent a constituency. Mr. Wilmot then requested His Excellency to call upon myself, and, therefore, it is that I have to-day to state, that in conjunction with Mr. Wilmot, I have partially formed a Government, the completion of which I hope to announce at an early day. The gentlemen at present advising his Excellency, are Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Tilley, Mr. Willisten, and myself. At an early hour of the day, this Government was formed.

I need scarcely say to your honors, that at the present crisis in our affairs, when political excitement is so great; when our finances are so straightened; when an invasion by a reckless enemy is threatening our borders; and when, worse than all, a fearful epidemic is approaching our shores, it is not a time when any one could most desire to occupy the position into which, to-day, my colleagues and myself have been inducted. For myself, I can say, and can appeal to my compeers who have acted with me politically, that I have never sought to elevate myself at the expense of others, and I now approach this subject with clean hands. Whatever may be said with regard to my colleagues and myself, and in this I would include particularly those who, with me, were delegates to Quebec, and who formed the Quebec scheme, I am proud to stand here to-day, and declare that with truth, nothing can be said against us that any honorable man need blush to hear.

I shall have to refer to the speech of the hon. gentleman, leader of the late Government, made yesterday in another branch; it is alike due to the gentleman who is the head of the Government in this Province, and to myself, that I should reply to the unwise and unkind attack made upon us, and which I regretted very much to hear.

I felt, I confess, for the position in which Mr. Smith was placed. During the past year his public course has been one of most arduous trial; nominally returned with a large Anti-Confederate majority, he soon found, as he must have known, at the time, that questions other than that of Confederation, largely influenced the public in the vote they gave in March, and that as a natural consequence, it was impossible for him to sustain himself and his party on the policy with which they came into office.

At the election in March, the rallying cries of the opposition were numerous. The Government had been for a number of years in power, too long probably, and had doubtless many sins to answer for, and these sins magnified in their nature, and intensified in their effects were presented in the canvass against us. Then the potent cry, taxation, desolation and woe, was raised, and a vast accumulation

of powerful agencies, thus directed against the men who defended it, and against the scheme itself.

I knew it was not a fair trial of the great question of Confederation, and no one throughout the canvass felt more anxious than myself, impressed as I was with a sense of its necessity, and it was with profound regret that while remaining unscathed myself, as a public man, I witnessed the fall of so many of my coadjutors, before the fickle decision of the popular will. I was sustained, however by the assurance that though for a time things looked dark, and though for a time some of the best intellects, and most reliable statesmen of our Province would be missed from the political arena, that there was in the people, a sound judgment behind this cloud, which would soon so permeate and return the true tone of society, as to change entirely the present position, and induce the people gladly to accept that which they had lately refused. What had been offered and refused? Was it a scheme which proposed the aggrandizement of one individual, the building up of one interest, without offering a concurrent aggrandizement and advantage to every individual, and every interest of the State? It was a scheme, the vastness of the conception of which can only be appreciated in the future;—a scheme, one of the greatest productions of the present century;—a scheme calculated in the opinion of eminent statesmen of England, to advance not only the various interests of the several Colonies, but to give those Colonies in their consolidated capacity a standing, a power, a degree of moral and physical energy, under the protecting power of Britain, excelled by few nations of the world.

Take the opinion expressed by Mr. Cardwell, a gentleman who occupies a position to which it is an honor for any man to aspire and to reach; a gentleman too, who does honor to his position; a gentleman who is characterized for depth of judgment, and breadth and brilliancy of conception; take I say, his opinion, as recited in the public records of this country, of the delegates to Quebec, and of the scheme which was the result of their labors there, and we will find that opinion is one of which any man or any body of men might feel justly proud; it is a compliment which those to whom it is addressed may well be pleased to hand down to posterity, and one which they may be proud of.

I now pass on to the subject of the resignations, and the correspondence between His Excellency and his retiring ministers. And whatever else we may see, there is one principle which we shall find standing out in bold relief in every paragraph of this correspondence, and that is Confederation. Not only that, but likewise we shall find the hitherto warm opponents of Confederation, here giving in adhesion to the principle, and the Executive representatives of the whole people, practically admitting what the late York election proved, and what the almost universal public sentiment declares, that Confederation is the will of the people; that it is a necessity. But do those gentlemen who so strenuously fought the battles of the Antis, who a short time ago declared that the people desired no closer political union with Canada; do they, risking their positions, honestly, manfully, as did those who politically fought and fell last March, come out with a truthful acknowledgment of their change of opinion, and the expression of an earnest desire to retrieve their wrong? Not so, but while giving a practical concession to the principle, they endeavor to surround the question with thick fog and mist. Who that listened to Mr. Smith yesterday, could help noticing his strained effort? How he touched the feelings of his auditory by reference to the sick child of one member of the Government and the dying father of an-

other; how he dilated upon the virtues and the abilities of his colleagues; and then how he endeavored to create a false impression against His Excellency and this Legislative Council, starting theories of constitutional rights, and constitutional responsibilities, never before heard of; and tending to blind people by touching their feelings and their prejudices, instead of appealing to their judgment.

I shall endeavor to dispel the allusions already raised, it becomes my duty, because we stand on the threshold of important events; we cannot tell, but it is possible that the Government may consider it a duty again to appeal to the people and test their opinions again.

I had hoped the hon. member of the late Government in announcing the resignation would have taken up and explained the reasons in full, and then I should be in a better position to deal with the matter.

The late Council gave the following reasons for resignation.

"The Council, in reply, would respectfully remark, that in their opinion it was incumbent upon your Excellency to consult your Constitutional Advisers in regard to to the answer so given, and in assuming to yourself the right to reply to such Address without consulting them, Your Excellency has not acted in accordance with the true spirit of the Constitution."

Now, I do not take exception to the opinion here expressed, that it is incumbent upon His Excellency to consult his Constitutional advisers, but I shall show that in the answer which His Excellency gave to the Address of the Legislative Council, he was only giving expression to sentiments which had been endorsed by the hon. Ex-President of Council, and pursuing a course in which his advisers had promised to sustain him. We shall find that His Excellency had communicated to his advisers the strong desire entertained by Her Majesty's Government, than an union of the Colonies should speedily be accomplished; that with the concurrence of those advisers, such wish of Her Majesty's Government was conveyed to the Legislature in the Speech from the Throne, and favorably responded to in the Address in reply, as prepared by the Government. We shall find that the President of the Council had, for his Government and for his party, agreed to the principle of union, and pledged himself to its introduction to the Legislature, and that up to the day that the Legislature met, His Excellency had the most entire confidence in the sincerity of his advisers, and their intention to carry out the pledge made. We shall see how well placed His Excellency's confidence was.

His Excellency, in consulting with Mr. Smith, suggested whether it would be possible to carry Confederation, without a combination with some of the gentlemen in opposition to the Government. He pointed out to him how that in Canada a coalition of what had been formerly the most antagonistic political elements—a coalition between Brown, MacDougall, MacDonald and Cartier, was effected—for the purpose of carrying out a great national object; he told him what the probable results would be in Nova Scotia, as no one doubted that there, ultimately, Her Majesty's wishes would be accomplished, and in the most kindly spirit advised, and the advice apparently was received in a spirit as kindly as that in which it had been tendered, that such conciliatory means should be adopted here. Mr. Smith admitted how desirable it was that union should not be permitted in its accomplishment, but thought he could deal with the question by his own party.

His Excellency remained impressed with a desire—and this does him infinite honour—that Confederation should be carried in such a way as to render it free from party complications, or to make it wear the aspect of a mere party question;

and subsequently he told Mr. Smith that he proposed approaching some gentlemen of the opposition, in a judicious manner, in order to ascertain their feelings. His Excellency did me the honor to consult with me upon the subject; he approached me, not as Mr. Smith has stated, in an unconstitutional manner, but merely to ascertain to what extent I would be prepared to assist Mr. Smith in carrying Confederation. And here I must remark that, in the interviews I have had with His Excellency, I have not on any occasion seen in him, conduct which did not on his part show a sincere desire to maintain his advisers; that one trait stood out prominently in His Excellency's character,. Having had the honor of a personal friendship with His Excellency, almost since his first arrival in this Province, I will say, the foul inuendoes and assertions of unscrupulous and scurrilous papers, to the contrary notwithstanding, that whatever His Excellency's peculiarities may be, and every man has his peculiarities, there is underlying all, a great deal of good sound sense, and undoubted talent.

His Excellency told me how anxious he was that the Province should give effect to the wishes of the British Government, believing, as he did, that it was of immense importance to us, that union should speedily be carried. He reminded me that the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty; the existing Fenian excitement; the isolated position of the Province; the several futile attempts to secure the Inter-Colonial Railroad, which, under Confederation, would be secured; the depressed state of our trade; our decreasing population; as well as the vast resources of the country, only requiring some such measure to give them proper development—all were loud calls upon myself, and every patriotic man to assist in consummating a confederation of the Colonies. His Excellency said: "I talk thus to you, Mr. Mitchell, because I am sure you are a gentleman prepared to sink party, and rise to the dignity of a national man."

I asked His Excellency what he proposed. His Excellency, I felt, was practically asking me if I could consent to allow those who had stolen the ship, hoisted our flag, and turned out by unfair means the constitutional crew, to hold the offices, while I assisted them in carrying a measure which they had contemned,—such were His Excellency's sentiments. I said to His Excellency, that while remembering my duty to my party which had many claims upon me, I could not forget that my first duty was to consult the interests of my country, and therefore looking at it as a national man, I said, that if convinced of the sincerity of the motives of Mr. Smith and his party, I would assist him;—first Confederation, let what will come afterward in the shape of party. His Excellency congratulated me; told me that he had communicated with Mr. Smith as to the necessity under the terms of his despatches from home, of bringing confederation distinctly before the Legislature, that he had consulted with me, and that if convinced of his sincerity, I was prepared to co-operate with him, and advised him to receive that co-operation.

Now, who I ask, that listened to Mr Smith's tirade of abuse yesterday, would suppose that we had been thrown together under such circumstances? I have the most friendly feeling for Mr. Smith; we have been colleagues in the same Government, sailing under the same flag; I have been proud to associate with him, and admire his talents, but was grieved and surprised to hear him yesterday resorting to such means to cover his inconsistent course, adopted merely to retain prestige and power. I will not say that office has any effect upon him, of that the public will judge.

His Excellency told me that his great object was to carry Confederation, but he

said very candidly, that he would rather carry it with his, then, present advisers, than with his previous Government. Of course I cannot say positively what influenced His Excellency to that preference. It may be that we had been too long in the saddle, and felt firmly fixed in our seats; it may be that we were too supercilious, and were not subservient enough to His Excellency's wishes. We had our failings, but one, and the paramount desire of our administration was, to serve the people's interests, and we never permitted any man to come between us and those interests, nor permitted any interference with what we considered constitutional principles; and when we in Council made a recommendation, we saw that it was carried into effect.

I know not what it is that His Excellency has seen in me to favor me especially with his confidence, unless it is that I have never sought after personal aggrandizement. For eleven years I have been in public life, and have never asked for or got anything for myself. My seat here was not asked for by me; I came here to meet the necessities of my party, and I have always retained the position in my own county, of being able to secure a seat if not in one branch of the Legislature, in the other, and therefore, when I hear charges made about hon. gentlemen seeking their own self interest it passes by me like the wind. But I have heard, and with astonishment and regret, grave charges made against hon. gentleman, my colleagues in this House; I have heard the motives of hon. members of this branch, whose years should shield them from such groundless slanders, impugned.

It is complained of His Excellency, that he held consultation with me. The Government knew I was in communication with His Excellency, for I met Mr. Smith at dinner at Government House, immediately after His Excellency's return from Montreal, three days before the House met; His Excellency told me he had been to Canada, in the interest of the Government, on the matter of union, and that Mr. Smith had agreed to go for a scheme of confederation, and he had advised to act in conjunction with gentlemen in the Opposition. Subsequently, he invited me to meet Mr. Smith, in order to see what could or should be done. I said I would endeavor to influence gentlemen of my party to co-operate with me, if satisfied about the proposed union, because I believed there was no man of that party, however strong his feelings might be as to the wrongs we had suffered, but was prepared to forget, in the great national interests of the moment, any mere feelings of desire for party preference or of party revenge. I can appeal to gentlemen who hear me to-day, to bear witness to the truth of what I assert, when I say that my conduct created suspicion in the minds of those gentlemen with whom I had long been associated publicly; that I nearly abnegated myself with my party, and forfeited my claims upon their confidence, because I was resolved to help the dominant party to carry Confederation. Friends told me "Mitchell, you have destroyed, you have ruined our party," and left me in anger.

I felt that the Government, if sincere, were playing a dangerous game, and, at the same time, doubted their sincerity, because I did not think they discovered sufficient frankness, and I told His Excellency that I doubted the sincerity of the Government. He told me he had the most certain evidences of the sincerity of His advisers, and could pledge himself for them. I never doubted His Excellency; from what I had seen of him, I always considered him high-minded and honorable—Time, the revealer of all things, will show who are the men of truth. I gave my word to His Excellency, but added one condition to it, and it was, that on the first opportunity, the Government would come out boldly, and avow their policy. His Excellency entertained no doubt of this, because he told me he had written despatches, based on their promises, that they would, soon after the meeting of the House, submit the papers, and have a committee struck. Had the Government acted boldly, as they promised, and brought in a scheme, and honestly avowed their change of opinion, they would be now in a better position, and, having thus proved their sincerity, I would be bound to support them.

As I have said, I doubted them; I am inclined to doubt anything that shrinks from the light of day. For one week I kept my pledge, and then seeing no prospect of the Government keeping their pledges, I went to His Excellency and told him that I wished to recall my pledge. He asked me why. I told him why; I had reason to conclude that the Government intended to deceive us; that they had told their supporters that the paragraph in the Speech did not mean Confederation, although the papers in the sister Colonies were full of the intelligence that our Government had declared for confederation in the Speech, and although in those Colonies it was creating a change in public sentiment, and was calculated to lead to good results, though our Government did not intend it. His Excellency expressed regret at my convictions, and reluctantly surrendered to me my pledge.

The question, and it is an unpleasant

one, now presents itself, from the adverse character of the statements made by His Excellency and Mr. Smith, which of the two is most correct? Has Mr. Smith's course been such as to justify the belief that he was disposed to carry out his pledges. Has not that course been one calculated to drive his supporters more and more from Confederation.

Every effort to get from Mr. Smith an explanation in the other House, of what the Speech meant was fruitless and frustrated, and but once and once only, did Mr. McMillan succeed in getting a word of evidence from his lips, and that was, that he would take representation by population, with proper checks.

His Excellency having had a pledge from his Executive, was slow to doubt their integrity, and therefore avoided embarrassing them. Let any gentleman read the correspondence, and if he is not prejudiced, he will find it evidencing the gentleman of honor, of ability, and the scholar. And, your honors, the real gentleman is much less supicious, and more likely to trust another, than are those who are less respectable. He judges others by himself, until he has proof that he deserves contrary judgment.

Reference is made by His Excellency to a private Memorandum referring to a despatch from Mr. Cardwell, which Memorandum, at Mr. Smith's request, was not sent down to the Council. His Excellency's reply to that despatch, expressed to Mr. Cardwell the hope he entertained (based on Mr. Smith's altered views,) of a speedy consummation of union. This answer His Excellency showed to Mr. Smith and asked him if it was correct, and he replied that it was.

There was one fatal error committed by His Excellency, that may effect Confederation and which reflects upon His Excellency, not as a man, but as a politician—he seems, in his desire to maitain the men, to have taken a course which, if side issues are raised, may imperil the measure.

His Excellency states that he handed Mr. Smith a confidential memorandum, stating the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the date at which he had determined to meet the House, and expressing his desire to know whether his advisers were disposed to recommend the Legislature to give effect to the opinions expressed by Her Majesty's Government.

His Excellency proceeds—

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL here quoted the correspondence from the "confidential memorandum" down, for the following twenty paragraphs, and resumed;—

It will thus be evident that His Excellency implicitly trusted to the Government to carry out their promises.

Am I asked why I withdrew my support from the Government? I watched them from day to day; I received each day some experience as to their intended policy; I found they were assuring their supporters that they did not intend to introduce any measure for Confederation, as Mr. Smith publicly announced in the House. When it was said there was a change in the minds of the members of Government; I was assured there was no change, and then, when I found the Government would not announce any policy, I felt relieved from any obligation longer to support them, and withdrew my pledge. With regard to His Excellency's reply to the Address of this House, it is warranted according to the policy of the Government, announced by themselves, throughout these communications with the Governor for some time past, and especially by the answer, given with their concurrence, to the former Address of this House, in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

Mr Smith was at Government House on Saturday, 7th inst., at half past ten o'clock. His Excellency had not then received a copy of the Address of the Council, and could not in consequence determine, and tell Mr. Smith what his answer would be; this, however, he did tell Mr. Smith, that his answer would be favorable to the spirit and request of the Address. How, then, can Mr. Smith find fault now? His Excellency had pursued his usual course in communicating with his Premier, as to his intended step; Mr. Smith knew precisely what the Address was, and therefore if, after His Excellency's assurance that he intended to give a favorable answer, Mr. Smith neglected to communicate with his colleagues, he must bear the

responsibility; Mr. Smith, as Premier, having generally assumed the functions of the Cabinet,—witness his conduct in connection with Western Extension—and His Excellency was justified in regarding communication with that gentleman, substantially the same as communication with the Cabinet. Such was usual course in ordinary public matters, and such was the course he adopted in the answer to the previous Address of the Legislative Council, which his Cabinet assented to. His Excellency, however, was anxious that his Council should know the precise terms of his answer before its presentation, he therefore, between twelve and one, forwarded a message to Mr. Smith.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD—I would just state that being at Government House between twelve and one o'clock, as a Committee to ascertain at what time His Excellency would receive our Address; when I was leaving, His Excellency requested me to forward a note to the Attorney General. I brought the note down and gave it to one of the messengers of the House of Assembly for Mr. Smith; this was at a quarter past one.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL—And thus it was that, as His Excellency has stated, through accident Mr. Smith did not receive the note earlier.

I take the position then, that from the avowed change in the policy of his government on the question of union; from the nature of the discussion had with his advisers on the subject; from the language which they acquiesced in and endorsed, used by His Excellency in his answer to an Address from the Legislative Council a short time before:—"I rejoice to believe that the avowal of the desire of the Legislative Council, that all British North America should unite in one community, under one strong and efficient Government, cannot but tend to hasten the accomplishment of this great measure;" and from the fact that Mr. Smith did not, when told that His Excellency's reply to this Address would be favorable, seriously object. All these circumstances justified the Governor in believing that the course he adopted, would meet the approval of his Council. His Excellency carried out in his answer, not only the spirit but the terms of his agreement with Mr. Smith, although I admit it was unfortunate that His Excellency did not see Mr. Smith at an earlier hour, previous to presenting the answer. I think any gentleman giving this Correspondence a dispassionate reading will be convinced that His Excellency kept good faith with his Council, and showed no desire to override the Constitution, or as has been stated, trample it under his feet; and I am sure your honors and the country will see at once, that as between his late Council and himself, this charge does not lie; and I am equally sure that this House and this Country will deprecate the bad taste, the want of dignity and courtesy that has marked the conduct of Mr. Smith and the late Government towards His Excellency.

I regretted very much to hear Mr. Smith, in his Speech yesterday, endeavor to work upon the passions of his auditory, and excite their feelings against His Excellency, by reference to his noble blood, and aristocratic name, as contrasted with his own (Mr. Smith's) humble origin and provincial career, and while boasting of the latter, endeavor to build up his case by exciting prejudices against the Governor. I am the son of a mechanic, and I am proud of it; I admire the men who by their own energy of purpose, raise themselves to position in society; but I none the less respect those men through whose veins course the blood of a long line of noble ancestry, whose names are recorded on the page of English History, intimately connected with events which have rendered Britain illustrious. And while of such is the family to which His Excellency belongs, he need not be ashamed of the race from which he has sprung, and but look back with feelings of pride, participating, in this instance particularly, with the pride of all Englishmen and all English Colonists, to the history and life of his illustrious father. And so far from the antecedents of his family being calculated to prejudice the minds of our people against a gentleman of talent, of position, of honor, those antecedents are calculated to inspire confidence in the statements of His Excellency.

Your honors, not only has His Excellency been made the subject of the most bitter and unscrupulous attack in this connection, but I have heard statements made about this House, and hon. members, that has made my blood fairly boil with indignation. We have been charged with being bribed traitors; and in one instance, with being fiends incarnate. I have heard, by gentlemen on the floors of the other branch, our motives most foully aspersed, I have heard it declared that only five hon.

gentlemen here are actuated by patriotic motives, while all the rest are guided by base instincts, and unworthy, self-interested designs. I have heard—and it is a worse indignity—an hon. member of this House himselves, impugn the motives which guided the majority; but while the hon. gentleman has made these statements, disgraceful if true, did he ever think upon whom his reflections were falling, and whom affecting? Did he think how he was by implication aspersing the characters of hon. Messrs. Seeley, and Robinson, and Hamilton, and Davidson, and Odell? Did he, or did any of these honble. gentlemen, ever read the 14th paragraph of the Quebec Scheme, in which it is provided that, "while the first selection of members of the Legislative Cauncil shall be made from the Legislative Councils of the various Provinces, and in such nominations, due regard shall be had to the claims of the members of the Legislative Council, of the Opposition in each Province, so that all political parties may as nearly as possible, be fairly represented."

We will thus have to select five from the Government party, and five from the Opposition, so that the whole Opposition will have to go to Ottawa, and the grave suspicion might rest upon our hon. friends, that their opposition has been inspired by a disposition to secure for themselves, under the provisions of this Section, seats in the General Parliament,

But, your honors, these reflections that I have alluded to, are beneath the dignity of this Body. When I cast a glance along these benches, and see the character of the gentlemen here; when I note the venerable appearance of many of them, indicating that mere political and party ambition are not the themes on which their minds are most likely to dwell; when I consider the character of these gentlemen, illustrated by a long course of Legislative experience in which they have proved the sterling composition of their minds, their honesty of purpose, their unswerving loyalty, their strict desire to do always what was for the best interests of the people; I say, while at a glance all these thoughts arise, I find the plain, palpable, sufficient rebuke of those who have dared to impugn their characters.

It is most to be regretted that so few of these gentlemen by whom I am surrounded, would consent, at their time of life, to forego the comforts of home, to go to Canada, there, by their presence, to lend dignity and give character to the General Parliament.

April 16.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL resumed—

It is of secondary importance, my explanation of the position of the Government, and the attitude in which it is placed as towards His Excellency and his late advisers, to this hon. House; but it is of primary importance, it appears to me, in the present crisis of affairs, that the country, anxiously enquiring as to the circumstances which have brought things to their present state, and eagerly attentive to learn what the position is, and what future prospects are, should be informed at once upon these points, in order to relieve its suspense, and reassure the public mind. It is of importance that the statements now being industriously circulated, calculated to bring this House and the head of the Government into disrepute, should at once be met by a truthful vindication of the character of each. On Saturday, I stated that the mists and fog of prejudice were being thrown around the question at issue; that peoples' passions were being appealed to on constitutional questions; the enemies of Confederation asserting that Responsible Government had been violated, and our long cherished institutions trampled in the dust. I endeavored to dispel the mists, and let the sun-shine of truth in upon the question. I showed that whatever the principles of Responsible Government had suffered, it had been principally at the hands of those who now so unscrupulously declaim against it; I showed how the spirit animating the slanders and misrepresentations, being uttered, was hostility to union, which means hostility to our best interests. But, your honors, I find now, another side issue has been raised. It is said that the copy of the correspondence, as printed, and laid before the House, differs from the original, sent by His Excellency to Mr. Smith, and by him read down stairs.

Let me admit there is a slight difference, but not a material one, in any instance, and having admitted this, let me explain how it arose, and having heard that explanation, you will feel with me, that it was not only uncalled for, animadversion of His Excellency because of it, but was almost indecent. His Excellency has been called upon of late, to devote a large amount of his time and energies to the military functions of his office.

The sound of approaching invasion from the Fenian hordes that have been concentrating upon the borders, has kept His Excellency's mind upon the stretch, and his pen busily at work, in order that those from whose approach the threatening sound arose, should meet with a reception becoming any attempted desecration of British soil. Deprived of the services of both his secretaries, the one having gone to St. John, and the other with the brave volunteers from Fredericton to the borders at St. Stephen, there to serve in defence of their country—both engaged in the emergency on military service; as a consequence, His Excellency has been unaided, except by occasional copyists, in the many claims upon him for the exercise of his pen. The copy of the correspondence sent to Mr. Smith, was the only one His Excellency had time to make from his rough draft, and when sent to Mr. Smith, it was accompanied wich a request that as soon as it had been used in the House of Assembly it should be returned to His Excellency, in order that a copy might be made. The copy was sent for several times but could not be obtained until late at night. His Excellency felt the necessity that it should be printed in order that members of both branches of the Legislature should have an early opportunity of perusing it, and therefore did not wait for it, but from the rough draft, perpared another for the printer, and the consequence, almost unavoidable, was that there were some slight changes in the phraseology, but none, I believe, to alter the sense of the document. I have said that His Excellency, under his directions, was desirous of carrying Confederation; that he much preferred to carry it by his then Government than by any other, but thought it desirable to be sure of the assistance of some members of the opposition, and, having secured my promise of support, if convinced of the sincerity of his Ministers, and Mr. Smith having assented to co-operate with me, His Excellency felt assurance rendered doubly sure of Mr. Smith's ability to carry out his pledges, which he would not have been able to do, relying only on his own immediate party.

An interesting episode in this correspondence will be found in those paragraphs relating especially to Mr. Wilmot's resignation. It is important as well as interesting, because it is a narration of facts which coincides with the general impression that prevailed at the time; with Mr. Wilmot's own statements, and with the correspondence that passed between His Excellency and that gentleman, and it is corroborative entirely of His Excellency's statements as to the avowal on the part of his Premier, with regard to union, of a changed policy; a change which for reasons of their own, the Cabinet did not wish Mr. Wilmot or the public to know, and which His Excellency in order to sustain, as he had always sought to do, his administration, kept secret.—Mr. Wilmot resigned because of the indisposition of his colleagues to entertain propositions for a closer union of the British North American Provinces. His Excellency kept Mr. Wilmot in suspense for a length of time, not being willing to accept of the resignation until Mr. Smith, who was then in Washington, had returned. Why this hesitancy? If His Excellency was, as he professed, and as he must have been, anxious to carry Confederation, and if he had no reason to hope that his Council would assist him in it, upon what grounds could the acceptance of Mr. Wilmot's resignation be defended, knowing as His Excellency did, that in the then changed aspect of public opinion, Mr. Wilmot could have formed a Government with an union policy, and have been triumphantly sustained by the country. Your honors must perceive, and it appears to me proof "strong as holy Writ," that His Excellency only waited for Mr. Smith's return in order to have assurance strengthened with regard to that gentleman's intentions, and so soon as Mr. Smith, having returned, gave His Excellency the required assurance, then Mr. Wilmot's resignation was accepted. This brings us, your honors will perceive, to a point at which one of two conclusions is unavoidable. Either Mr. Smith advised the acceptance of Mr. Wilmot's resignation, because he (Mr. Smith) and his colleagues had changed

their views, secretly had concluded to go for Confederation, and had made their pledges to the Governor in good faith, or on the other hand, were deceiving His Excellency, descending to duplicity and deceit, for the sole purpose of retaining for a little while longer the seals of office. His Excellency had put it to them pointedly: I must have Confederation with Mr. Wilmot or with you; I prefer it with you; choose which course you will adopt. Had they been opposed to union still, and not under the influence of a lust for power, every high minded feeling would have prompted them to have then resigned and made way for Mr. Wilmot. Mr. Smith boasts of his having no desire for office; this is his continual cry, but I think his past political history shows that he, not less than those whom he so abundantly decries, has had an eye to the "flesh pots." I speak by the record; I know Mr. Smith, having worked with him in the political harness, and I tell him, office has its charms for him as well as for others. Why did he take office when the late Attorney General Fisher went out, at which time there was a gentleman of our party, a personal friend of his own, and one in whom he professed very great interest, and a gentleman quite as competent to fill the office, and quite as sure of being returned by his constituency as Mr. Smith? And where was the public or party exigency that required him to become Attorney General of the present administration, and above all—and this must remain a damning evidence against him, one which sophistry and declamation can never wipe out, that in the instance now immediately under debate—he sacrificed principle—political and moral—for the retention of office. After His Excellency had read the confidential Memorandum to Mr. Smith, he acceded, unfortunately, to that gentleman's request, not to communicate it to his Council. Now how did His Excellency exhibit any desire to entrap, or weave a web around Mr. Smith, as he has stated? No! the reverse appears to have been the case, for had His Excellency sent that Memorandum to his Council, affairs would at once have been brought to a crisis, and to-day we would have had before us a Minute of Council, signed by every member, and determining exactly how the matter stood. His Excellency followed Mr. Smith's request, however, in order not to embarrass the debate on want of confidence, and now Mr. Smith has to suffer the consequence of not having acted a frank, manly, and consistent course. His Excellency and Mr. Smith are in direct conflict as to what would be done, subsequent to the striking of the committee. His Excellency says Mr, Smith stated an Address to Her Majesty on the subject would grow out of it; Mr. Smith says it was His Excellency who suggested this. Be that as it may, an inference is irresistable, that Mr. Smith agreed to a scheme of union, and that he agreed to introduce and carry it through the House if his influence and that of his supporters could do it; and that he admitted that an Address to the Queen might grow out of it; then are Mr. Smiths statements about His Excellency endeavoring to weave a web about him likely to be believed? His Excellency, it will be observed, declines to enter into a discussion about words used in conversation, but very properly refers to the general statement of facts, to corroborate what he has alledged. Mr. Smith told His Excellency that he had consulted with his friends, and they had consented to support him in the course he had proposed to pursue, and then the terms of the Speech were decided upon. Now, was this a true statement by Mr. Smith! Take the statements of Mr. Gillmor, Mr. Botsford, of all the supporters of the Government, and they prove that Mr. Smith has misstated facts; that either he did not consult his colleagues, or, if he did consult them, that they declined acceeding to his proposition. The only

condition that Mr. Smith seems to have attached to his pledge was, that a majority of the committee was to be supporters of the Government. Mr. Smith, when he admits this, admits the truth, but not the whole truth, and the whole truth I want to go to the country. The composition of the committee was decided upon; Mr. Smith was to be one of the committee—I challenge him to deny that—he seems to have forgotten to state how intimate a connection he was to have in carrying out the scheme of union.

I am sorry there is not a member of the late Government here to-day, to hear my statements. Their absence will be properly regarded in the country, in the first place, as a contempt of public opinion, and, in the next, as an admission that I am correct in my statements, and that they dare not hear them and cannot contradict them. If Hon. Mr. Odell was present, I should remind him of the fact that he was to be selected here for the committee, and was to sustain himself in office by going for Confederation. Hon. Mr. Chandler and Hon. Mr. Botsford were likewise to be on the committee; in the Lower House, Mr. Williston and Mr. Fraser, or Mr. Fisher, also. His Excellency, when the arrangement about the committee had been concluded, felt quite assured, and addressed Mr. Smith a letter, which has been read; Mr. Smith says he handed the letter back, and did not receive it. We cannot wonder at this; the terms of the letter were so flattering as to make it a delicate matter for Mr. Smith to receive it, and therefore he may have told His Excellency he would rather not. He did not, however, deny the assumptions of the letter, or refuse to receive the congratulations of His Excellency on what he regarded as enlarged views on the part of Mr. Smith. If the letter was not a truthful statement of Mr. Smith's views, he should have contradicted it. With regard to the second letter, which Mr. Smith states he received, and read in the coach while leaving Government House, it is His Excellency's impression that the letter was sent down by the orderly to the Barker House, and not handed to Mr. Smith by His Excellency personally. But Mr. Smith states he received that letter, and duty, both to His Excellency and himself, demanded that he should contradict its statements if he was as he professes, opposed to that union, in the interest of which the letter was written. But to this day, no answer has been received by His Excellency.

Mr. Smith says we have exceeded our powers as a Legislative Chamber, that we are not responsible to the people, and represent nobody but ourselves, and that in no constitutional country has it ever been known that an irresponsible Chamber asked to have a change of policy when the People's House had declared against it, and that if we were permitted to interfere with the acts of the popular Branch, we would be interfering with the liberty of the people, and that it was time we were swept away. Now let us see how far all this is true. Have we exceeded our powers in considering a subject which the Secretary of State has in repeated Despatches declared to be the policy of the Empire, in which Her Majesty's Ministers state they feel the deepest interest, and to the accomplishment of which they look forward with satisfaction, in which the very Government of which Mr. Smith is the head, has submitted the question by command of Her Majesty to this branch of the Legislature, in the Speech from the Throne, for our consideration and action. And have we, in the exercise of what I believe to be our legitimate functions as an independent branch of the Legislature, and according to the views of Her Majesty's Govt., and in the expression of our approval of confederation, and in the passage of the Address to the Throne, exceeded our powers or not? I think not! We may, in the opinion of Mr. Smith, represent nobody

but ourselves, but the same thing may be said in a comparative degree, of the House of Peers in England, yet who will say that that illustrious Body has not been one of the safeguards of the Throne, while at times it has been foremost in securing or extending the liberties of the people, nor can we say how, in this democratic age, that the interests of the people of England require greater responsibility in that Body. Time will not permit me to enumerate the many instances to which I might refer, the records of Parliament abound with them, but I will refer to two remarkable ones. The Septennial Act, which altered and limited the duration of Parliaments. Prior to its adoption, the power of the Throne was great, and it was enabled to control the existence of a servile Parliament, whether such was in accordance with the interests of the people or not. Obnoxious members were sometimes provided for, and the prospect of continued position as a Representative sometimes closed the mouth of the greatest stickler for the people's rights, and complaint could not be heard, and the people had no remedy. Who put an end to this, was it the Commons? No! it was this irresponsible middle Branch, against the existence of which Mr. Smith declaims, and who he says represents nobody but themselves! They felt it to be necessary in order to check the power of the Crown, to introduce what is called the "Septennial Act," by which the duration of Parliaments was limited to seven years. This gave to the people of England a certainty that at least every seven years a period would arrive when the venality or corruption, the imbecility or political trickery of their representatives could be tracked out and punished. Yet this great measure had not its inception in that branch which Mr. Smith states, par excellence, represents the people, but was brought in by a Peer in the House of Lords. Again, we find, during the past century, at a time in the history of our Mother Country when the political horizon was shrouded—was wrapped in a sable pall; when the old Colonies (now one of the powers of the World) had proclaimed and were fighting for their independence; England had landed her armies on this Continent, and surrounded the coast with her fleet; she hired foreign mercenaries, enlisted even the Indians in her service; she spent millions of pounds and incurred an enormous debt, which posterity has had to suffer for and will have to pay; she was engaged in war with the leading powers of Europe; both branches of the House of Bourbon were lending their best efforts to conquer and subdue her; the Dutch navy, then a power on the ocean, was ranged in the lists of her antagonist, indeed, she had engaged the great powers of Europe almost alone; the great minds of the nation felt that concessions, and moderation and extension of British freedom to the revolted Colonies at such a period, was the true policy of the Empire, and that when the fleets of France and Spain were approaching our shores for the purpose of invasion, it was no time to hesitate about the terms on which we should arrange our family quarrels; the King was obstinate, his Ministers powerful, and the Commons subservient; it was then the benefit of an independent and powerful Legislative branch was felt, low though it might be according to the views of such men as Mr. Smith, the representatives of nobody. The venerable Earl Chatham submitted his celebrated Resolution, accompanied by one of those great efforts of oratory with which his name has been associated, and though unsuccessful at the time, ultimately revolutionized public sentiment, and brought about that peace which the financial difficulties of the empire made a necessity, and led to that amicable separation from our old Colonies, and he recognition of their independence, which the folly of their King, and the venality and servility of his ministers, had left as the only alternative. Did statesmen of that day find fault with Earl Chatham, or claim that the Branch of the Legislature of which he was a member, had exceeded its powers? No! Nor does he

who looks back at the past after a century has passed away, either doubt the constitutional power of the middle branch to interfere, or the expediency of the course they pursued. History has pronounced its approval of the course the lords pursued, which has advanced constitutional rights, has tended to promote and extend civil liberty, and resulted in erecting upon our borders a powerful nation, which has relieved the overcrowded countries of Europe, of their surplus populations, and affords a home to millions. As I before stated, instances of the proper exercise of the Legislative functions of the middle Branch might be multiplied indefinitely were it necessary; and I would recommend these gentlemen who condemn our conduct, undervalue our influence, decry our position or desire to restrain our powers,—to refer to the history of constitutional countries, and study them before they assert that there is no parallel to the powers here assumed. We are told we must be swept away; that the majority are "effete, antiquated politicians," representing no one but ourselves, and having no regard for the people's interests, desirous only to gratify our ambition, our selfishness, and our interests. Mr. Smith eulogized the conduct of the hon. Mr. Hazen, and the other four gentlemen who constitute the minority. Is it because they generally vote to sustain hiGover nment that he did this, or is it imprbable that the keen, shrewd, Mr. Smith, and the astute Mr. Hazen did not point out to the rest of the minority the fact, that five men, at least, on their side of the House, were sure of seats at Ottawa if the scheme succeeded, as it was stipulated therein, that half should be on each side of politics. Does Mr. Smith not know, and has he not often repeated the fact, that without the check, which the Upper Branch has been, to hasty and reckless Legislation in the Lower House, our Statute Book would have been filled with injudicious and unwise Statutes; his ire, excited against the Council last winter has not yet subsided, and when almost every measure of that imbecile and servile Government which has just passed away, were rejected, and they met with the condemnation of the Country? I answer, No! and the people of the Province confirm it. Did the people want the Post Office Department abolished? Did they want an irredeemable paper currency foisted upon the country, without proper guards, securities, and checks, such as the original mover, Mr. Wilmot, had provided? Did the people of the North condemn us for the rejection of the Buoy, Beacon, Lights, and Seamens' Hospital Bill, and which, while it taxes the Ports of the North largely in excess of those in other sections, and lets Charlotte go free, yet would appropriate our funds to the maintainance of their seamen, and to supply deficiencies in those other more favored Ports? Did the people of St. John condemn us for the rejection of their Water Bill, and for which Mr. Hazen belabored this Council repeatedly, a Bill which, while it taxes the stock in trade of the merchant, and the implements and stock of the manufacturer, yet permitted the valuable library of a lawyer, and the costly furniture of the millionaire or parvenue to escape? I answer, No! Yet these are only a few of the Bills we rejected last Session. Our conduct met with the approval of the country, and when I have heard, as I often have, the expressions from the people and seen it in the Press, "thank God, we have a Legislative Council," it has been a satisfaction to me to believe that, if we did excite the enmity of the Government, and at times the ire of the Lower Branch, we at least found satisfaction in knowing that our course generally met the approval of the people. When Mr. Smith, by having Hon. Mr. Hazen and the other four gentlemen who voted in the minority with him, as being the only true exponents of public sentiment in this House, he has practically challenged criticism, and the gage of the public verdict, which he has thrown down. Of the minority, five, but one of them has ever represented a constituency, and would not care to risk a trial. Of the majority, some of them have been representatives of the people, and, I believe, all of them returned more than once, while the others are gentlemen of quite as great claims to the confidence of the country as the minority, and certainly not more deficient in ability. Mr. Smith may inspire and submit Resolutions in the Lower Branch, to sweep us off; he may try to excite feelings against us, and advocate a principle he himself does not believe in, of making the Council elective, but I would have him to know, that this sacrificing principle to the passion or humor of the hour, will have no weight with the members of this House who would not swerve from duty, either at the cajolery or the threa's of his imbecile Gov't. For myself, I have that position before the people of my County, that will secure my return here, should I desire it. Individually, his threat of the Elective principle has no force with me, and I wish him and his confreres to understand that while no inducements which he might offer could persuade, no threats which he may use can force me to a servile following in the footsteps of the Lower House. I am a Constitutional man; I desire to maintain constitutional principles, and notwithstanding the assertions, inuendoes, and insinuations to the contrary, I have pursued a constitutional course. I desire to maintain the rights as well of the one Branch as the other; and while I will not be

influenced by the braggadocios of Mr. Smith, will, I trust do nothing, as I assert I have done nothing, and as I believe, this House has done nothing to interfere with the rights or liberties of the People. We did not desire by our Address to coerce, as Mr. Smith stated, this country into Confederation; but having been asked by the Throne to express our opinion, it was our duty to deliberate and express it, and we have done this.

That His Excellency was justified in doubting the sincerity of Mr. Smith, or his ability so to influence his supporters as to induce them to consent to any scheme for union, we have abundant evidence; and we find also in these evidences, to some of which I shall refer, justification for His Excellency testing the good faith of his ministers by giving expression in his answer to the Address of this House, to those views in which they had formerly concurred. And they should be the last to endeavour to charge upon His Excellency violation either of good faith or of constitutional principles, when their own duplicity and disregard of principle, either political or moral, drove His Excellency to the course he pursued.

On the 15th of March, this conversation took place in the Assembly, as reported in the official Debates:

"Mr. DesBrisay wished to understand the position of the Government, and he would ask them, were they prepared to go for any scheme brought in by any of their supporters?

"Attorney General.—The Government had never heard of any scheme.

"Mr. DesBrisay—That was evading the question. What he wished to know was, did the Government intend to support any scheme brought in by any of their supporters?

"Attorney General—The Government had never heard of any scheme; the Government were opposed to the Quebec scheme, and would not submit any scheme to the House" This, your honors, was seven days after the House met. On the seventh day, we find Mr. Costigan, a warm supporter of the Government, thus expressing himself:

"If we could have equal representation in the Legislature at Ottawa, we might be in a position to advocate our interests; but with fifteen members it is perfectly absurd. It has been stated by several members of the House, and in the press of this country, that the people have so changed their minds and feelings, that this Government had not the confidence of the people of the Province, nor of any one County of it. If a dissolution took place to-morrow, and the question of Confederation had to be tried over again, I am not prepared to say whether I should be here. But I do state boldly that the County I represent would send representatives pledged to sustain the present Government."

On the 21st of March, Dr. Thompson expressed himself as follows;—

"He did not see how members of this House could be so shame-faced as to attempt to do anything of that kind. Some of them would never have had a chance to come to this House if they had not been Anti-Confederate, and why then should they turn traitors to the trust reposed in them; in his opinion it would be wrong and unjustifiable to do so. We have been here eighty years and the country has improved. We have got along very well, and all we ask is to be let alone. This Confederation scheme cannot benefit our trade. We have not a single article we can send to Canada."

We shall now hear the views of a member of the Government, the Provincial Secretary:

Mr. Gillmor—My hon. friend and late colleague says he never was oppposed to the abstract question of union of the Colonies, and that the Government has done him injustice. The abstract question of union has never been submitted to the electors of New Brunswick, and an abstract question never will be, unless the Confederates can work it in some way to assist them to carry the Quebec Scheme. To submit the abstract question of union to the people would be an abstract absurdity, for thec onditions and details of any agreement is the all important part of it."

Again, during the debate on the want of confidence motion, Mr. Needham thus delivers himself:

"I will now come to the main point, which is Confederation. My hon. friends from the North say this is a pure question of Confederation, and if this government had foreshadowed and come down with a scheme, they would have supported them. When they take that ground, I believe it is simply and purely a question of Confederation, and that if the present Government is turned out, the Government that will come in to supplant them will be formed on a Confederation basis of the worst kind. If a majority of the House say they have no confidence in the present Gov't., they never need look to me again for support, if they do not dissolve the House and go to the people. I came to this House pledged to go against confederation; and knowing that under the present Government we are safe in this respect, I am prepared to sustain them at all hazards and risks. They say the Government have foreshadowed a scheme in the Speech, but no construction of the English language can justify them in coming to that conclusion."

These quotations are quite sufficient to show that as I have said, either Mr. Smith was deceiving His Excellency and his own support-

ers, or else he had never as he promised to do, received the assent of his supporters to the course designed.

There are two points now to which I wish to direct your honors' attention. I wish to prove that His Excellency was justified in feeling as his statement in the correspondence indicates. His Excellency states that—

"In the desire to avoid giving cause of embarrassment to his Government, and at their request, His Excellency delayed for nineteen days the reception of the Address of the Legislative Council, in reply to the Speech from the Throne; nor was it until it became evident to His Excellency that further delay in this respect would seriously imperil the harmony of the relations between himself and the Legislative Council, and the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, that he fixed a day for its reception,"

I shall now quote from the authorized Debates of our own Branch, and the extracts I shall read, will sustain this position of His Excellency, and the same extracts will show that the Government a short time since held very different views with regard to the relative responsibility of themselves and His Excellency in the matter of an Address of this House. On the 17th of March, while discussing the propriety of His Excellency receiving the Address of this House, in answer to the Speech, I remarked that:—

"The Government should advise His Excellency to receive the Address, as they have no doubt, advised the delay; I hope the honble. member of Government will not falsify his professions in the early part of the Session, by refusing to give such advice, and thus delay public business any longer."

* * * *

"Hon. Mr. Odell—There is no want of candor on my part; I have given an answer. The hon. gentleman asked me what course His Excellency would adopt, and I told him that I could not tell him, because it rested entirely with His Excellency."

* * * *

"Your honors appointed a committee, and in reply to that committee, His Excellency stated that he would communicate to them an answer as to when he would receive the Address; and surely now, it is not my place to take the initiative out of the hands of the Governor, in determining when the Address will be received.

"Hon. Mr. Mitchell—I will not be placed or kept in a wrong position. I did not ask the hon. gentleman to assume to speak for His Excellency. As I have stated, His Excellency told the committee he would communicate to them when he would receive the Address: several days have now elapsed, and when we find the only active supporter of the Government in the House, except the hon. member, attacking the committee for not giving the House a report of His Excellency's answer, I am called upon to throw back the reflection, and place the responsibility of delay, where it should rest, on the Government. What I want the hon. member of Government to do is, now that he knows the wishes of the House, now that he understands that there is no excuse for further delay, and that the exigencies of the public service require that we should be placed in such a position as that we may get to work at our Legislative duties, not to advise His Excellency to delay any longer receiving us. I regard the hon. gentleman as His Excellency's constitutional adviser in this Branch, and I now ask him if the Government has advised His Excellency not to receive our Address until after the Address of the Lower House is adopted? I ask a reply? Now, then, I assume the Executive is responsible for the delay, not the Governor. I did not desire this debate on the Address just passed, although the whole business of to-day has been irregular, and may be set up hereafter as an embarrassing precedent; but, as the ground has been taken that our Address cannot be received until after the Address below is passed, the discussion becomes necessary in order to the maintenance of our Constitutional rights, and the assertion of the true responsibility of the Government."

On the 22nd of March, the following took place:—

"Hon. Mr. Botsford asked if the Committee was prepared to give any further information as to when His Excellency would receive the Address of this House.

"Hon. Mr. Mitchell had no information to give. The hon. member of Government was present, and as he held the Government, not the Governor, responsible, perhaps that hon. gentleman could give some information.

"Hon. Mr. Odell was not prepared to give any further information."

And again on the 27th. Hon. Mr. Steeves asked the hon. member of Government when the papers relating to Confederation would be laid before this House. Hon. Mr. Odell replied that the papers were in course of preparation, and would be shortly submitted. After some further discussion, hon. Mr. Odell used the following pointed language, showing where he then thought responsibility rested. He said:—

"I do not know why I should be catechised in this way, in a matter which more particularly

rests between His Excellency and this House, than between this House and the Government. I am not prepared, nor would I be justified in assuming to give a definite answer."

To this I replied as follows:—

"There is another point to which I take exception. My hon. friend has not been catechised on a question resting between His Excellency and this House, but between the Government and this House; for the Government, I hold, is responsible. His Excellency has neither motive nor design to withhold papers; he has no Constitutional objections, and should have none. I think this state of things has lasted long enough; we have now been twenty days in Session, and have been put off from time to time by the hon. member of Government with a great variety of excuses; but the reason given to-day is the most extraordinary of them all—want of time to consult with His Excellency. I hold that my hon. friend should recognize, not shirk the responsibility."

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"Why are we thus put off from time to time? It must be merely to suit the convenience of the Government. Is it because the want of confidence motion is pending in the other Branch, and that the Government is just trembling in the balance that they thus retard public business, and then endeavor to throw the onus upon the Governor. If not, why do they not frankly give us the information we require, and lay before us the correspondence which has been had with reference to the Fisheries; to the Commercial Treaties; to the affairs of British North America; to the Inter-Colonial Railroad; to the question of defence, showing us whether it is the intention of the Government of Britain to continue to defend us as in the past, when the Province has set itself up against the policy of the Empire and Confederation. It is time there was a change in the conduct of the Government toward this House, and a change there must be."

These extracts, without further comment, sufficiently illustrate the points I mentioned.

Your honors will pardon me if I again refer to some matters on which I have previously spoken, as it may be necessary in order to remove some of the prejudices which have been created in another place, and it is due to His Excellency that this matter should be fairly understood. Mr. Smith says that "the rights of the People were interfered with by the course taken by the Governor, as well in the subject matter of the reply, as in the manner. Is it wrong for the Governor to assume that the policy of his Government was one of Confederation or Union? for this is the matter of the reply. Let us see. That Mr. Smith agreed to recede from his Anti views, after the time that Mr. Wilmot's resignation was submitted, must be apparent to every one. Mr. Wilmot left the Government because of the refusal of his colleagues to go for a union policy, and the Governor let Mr. Smith understand, that if Mr. Wilmot's views of his colleague's policy were correct, that he would have to refuse to accept his resignation. He told him also, that the Despatch of June, and the repeated expressions of the policy of Her Majesty's ministers, made it imperative upon him again to submit the subject, with the papers, for the consideration of the Legislature, and in a spirit of friendliness, pointed out the difficulties that his Govt. would get into. Mr. Smith took time to consider the matter, and stated that he wished to consult his friends before taking so important a step,—went off to St. John, and westward, to do so; when he returned, said they were willing and agreed to it. He again discussed the subject, pointed out the mode by which he proposed to carry it out, received the congratulatory letter, did not deny the fact on which it was founded, viz: his assent to a union policy, heard the Minute of Council read, assented to it, and asked the Governor not to send it as it might embarrass him, heard the notes of the arrangement on which the despatch to Mr. Cardwell was based, agreed to the Confederation paragraph in the Speech from the Throne, and discussed the names of the Committee. What conclusion would any gentleman draw from these facts, but that Mr. Smith's policy was one of Union, and that he intended to carry it out. Now if this was so, how has the Governor violated the Constitution by putting in his Reply, that "he rejoiced to learn that fact." Mr. Smith says it is a violation of the principles of Responsible Government to put it in without consultation." Let me ask Mr. Smith if it has not been the practice of Mr. Gordon, as well as previous Governors, to do the business of the Council with his Premier, and through him with his Council, and that it is only on exceptional occasions that he communicates with, or consults the assembled body? Mr. Smith knew this to be the fact. I further ask him if the reply to the previous Address of the Council was not communicated to him in the same way, and "without consultation with the assembled Body," and if so, where is the difference? In both, the policy of union is recognized, and that alone, and if one is right the other cannot be wrong. 'Tis true, that although he was in the morning by the Governor, that he intended giving a favorable reply, why did Mr. Smith wish, when the Legislative Body was assembled, to get time to consult, and why

not dissent in the morning? If he did not agree to the policy, then was the time to object, but he did not. Why? Any one who listened to Mr. Smith's Speech might find the sequel to it. He told the House "that for weeks his life had been a burden to him," and he looked it. He had got himself into a false position, and he felt it; he had pledged himself to "union," and Anglin would not let him carry it out, and he felt that without him he must fail, and assured them that he had told the Governor that he had consulted his friends, and they agreed to it, while they denied it, and he lacked the moral courage to boldly avow the policy, and trust to the generosity of his opponents for success. What a position for a public man to be in! I do not wonder at his remarks, so full of agony and so expressive; but mark the sequel. Circumstances at the last moment favored him, and he availed himself of them. True, he was informed in the morning that the reply would be favorable. Was Hon. Mr. Hazen, then, purposely inspired to delay the Address going up, and if so, did Mr. Smith receive the reply shortly after it was sent, at one o'clock, or not till half past and did he determine to make this the e for getting out of the difficulty by raising a constitutional question, and by creating a personal quarrel, and at the same time get out of his troublesome admissions and imperil a union by side issues, if an appeal should be made to the country? He saw the coming storm—that the crisis was not far off, and he felt, that having induced the Governor to believe that he would carry out his proposition in good faith, his delay in passing the Address, the protracted discussion on Fisher's Amendment, which the Government could—if as strong as they say, at any moment have brought to a close, the uncertainty whether the debate on other paragraphs might not be continued for two or three weeks longer; the refusal of most of the Government and many of their supporters to admit any change of policy in reference to Union, all forced the conviction on the Governor's mind that he was misled and deceived. Will then any man doubt his justification for pursuing the course he did, and making his reply evince his satisfaction at the Address of Council?

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That the Governor delayed receiving Wilmot's resignation, until an agreement had been effected between himself and Mr. Smith on the subject of Union.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That this subject was discussed for three days in the Council, and that Mr. Hutchison put off his journey to England, on account of the importance of that discussion.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That the decision arrived at was considered of sufficient importance to induce Mr. Smith to leave Fredericton and consult his leading supporters, the final decision remaining in abeyance till his return.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That he was aware that the object of the Lieutenant Governor's journey to Canada, (coincident with his own journey to consult his friends,) was to ascertain the concessions which would be made on the part of Canada.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That he agreed with His Excellency as to a secret form of communication with him during that week, or that he received a message from the Governor at Montreal on the subject.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That an understanding satisfactory to both parties was arrived at on the return of Mr. Smith from his trip, and of His Excellency from his.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That the adoption of a real and complete union had always been the object of His Excellency's wishes, (who had objected to the Quebec Scheme as insufficient in that respect,) and that no agreement could have been satisfactory, which did not imply an acquiescence in such a policy.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That this agreement involved the appointment of a joint Committee to consider the question of Union.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That he professed indifference as to the composition of this Committee.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That the influence of the Government was to be used in procuring the adoption by the Committee, of Resolutions favorable to union, and by the House of Assembly, of the Report of the Committee.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That he admitted an Address to the Queen praying her to give effect to these Resolutions, might "grow out of the committee," even if he denies that such a measure formed part of the original arrangement.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That the Lieutenant Governor manifested an anxious desire to retain his Administration in office, and that if his conduct is open to any charges of unconstitutionality, it is that he has evinced too evident a wish to sustain his late advisers.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That it is a perfectly constitutional course to receive from either Branch of the Legislature, an Address to the Queen, or any subject, and for the Governor, on Her Majesty's behalf, and as her representative, to return to it such answer as may be in accordance with his instructions and the policy of the Imperial Government, of which he is an officer.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That the Governor,

since his return from England, has always given him to understand, that any open demonstration in favor of union must meet with his approval.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That he urged on the Governor that the "adoption of union would be delayed" by a change of Government, whether it resulted in a dissolution or not, as the committee could be at once appointed, whilst time would be consumed by adjournments for election and long debates, should a change take place.

Mr. Smith cannot deny—That his Administration most servilely yielded up into the hands of His Excellency, those Constitutional functions, which they especially should perform, and the Constitutional exercise of which they should sacredly guard, when they allowed His Excellency to veto appointments to, and changes in, public offices, made by them; and that they thus violated the fundamental principles of Responsible Government.

Mr. Smith cannot deny the constitutional right of His Excellency to transmit the address of an independent branch of the Legislature to the Queen by the earliest post, and yet he blames him for doing so.

Mr. Smith cannot deny that the delay of the Governor in consulting the Council could serve no one but Smith himself, and that he did purposely delay to go up is as likely as that the Governor delayed to send, as dissent of Council, if dissent there was to be, would then have been previously received. Nor can Mr. Smith deny that the Legislative Council once at Government House, the Governor could not have refused to receive the address at once, especially as he had delayed in the interest of the Government before notifying them of time of former address for 19 days. If he can deny or explain these points let him do it. He shall have ample time before prorogation. It is due to the country that they should be explained.

I regret that the difficulty has arisen, and I further regret that so much time has been taken up in its discussion which should have been used in discussing the real matter that underlies the whole, and is the cause of the whole difficulty. *Union of British America* is a necessity of the age, and disguise it as we may, we cannot stand alone, a small isolated, fragmentary portion of the Empire, situated in a position easy of access to an invading foe, and offering inducements to an aggressive and ambitious neighbor. Let any one look at the progress which the United States has made since they gained their independence and subsequently became united in one great Republic. While their industry and their commerce have been encouraged, they have never lost sight of the desirability of rectifying their lines and extending their territory. The native races have all had to make way and recede step by step to the far West. The conquest of Florida, the purchase of Louisiana, the annexation of Texas, the invasion and spoliation of Mexico, resulting in the acquisition of a great territory, stretching from the Mississippi States to the Pacific, and for hundreds of miles along that coast, with the desire to possess Cuba, all go to show the love of power and lust for conquest and territory which they possess. Their power no one can deny; the events of the past four years have demonstrated that in a remarkable degree, and when we see the tone of their public men, the spirit of their Press, their constant promulgation of the Munroe doctrine, the sentiments of their Senators and Congress men, so recently developed in the present Congress in openly avowing annexation and refusing us Reciprocity because it retarded that result, we may reasonably fear that as they possess both the power and the inclination, that when the opportunity offers they may avail themselves of it, and I fear that our fishing grounds may afford the pretext. No one will deny the great advantages which would accrue to America by our absorption. She would have no foreign foe on her Northern borders (at least none worse than the icy barriers of the Pole) against whom she would have to guard by either troops or monitors. She could at once dispense with a standing army. She would gain in extent of territory a half a continent, and to make it prosperous she would only have to possess it. A healthy climate, a soil generally fertile, lakes and rivers magnificent in their grandeur and volume and extent, teeming with fish, and affording in their facility for navigation a great stimulus to commerce, while mines of coal and minerals in abundance lie unworked in the bosom of her soil. Nor need I refer to that vexatious question of the fisheries, which under the treaty they have for the past ten years enjoyed, and which we know they covet. Are these not all stimulants to the aggressive character of our neighbors, and while showing by their antecedents what

their inclinations are, and admitting their great power, I think I have shown their interests. History will repeat itself—our destiny is clear—Confederation or Annexation! I forewarn your Honors what the result will be if we do not now take steps to direct and guide the ship of State. The times are ominous of danger. There are traitors in our midst, and I am much mistaken if the Councils of our country have not been tainted by some of them. I find in a Halifax paper which I now hold in my hands the statement of a leading anti, formerly a member of the government, in which he declares that he would rather see the stars and stripes float over Citadel Hill than see Confederation of British America. I will not repeat what I have heard of some of our own prominent men and I hope for their sake that the treasonable utterances ascribed to them are untrue, and I would fain hope that they would not prove traitors even if they should persist in their Anti policy. I would now refer to a document picked up in St. John, supposed to be published by a Republican Committee in St. John, curiously composed of a mixture of Confederacy and Rebellion, but I have faith in this, that if the Fenian invaders dare insult our soil, I believe we will give a good account of them Time will not permit me to go into the details of the question of Confederation; indeed it is unnecessary in this Chamber after the very able speeches of Messrs. Botsford and Chandler—speeches which when delivered were listened to by the five anti members of this House with dismay, and to this hour have remained unanswered. The enlightened views of the former gentleman, and the able statistical calculations of the latter, coming as they do from gentlemen of standing, influence and experience, will have their effect. For myself I feel the importance of the occasion. I have long felt the necessity of a change of our position.—Isolation was dangerous to our liberty and destructive to our progress. Our people are industrious—our resources abundant—but Union is necessary to our success. Association by rational union with three or four millions of people, attached to the institutions of our parent state, would give a strength and importance to us which we do not possess.—We would have extended markets for our fish, and extensive employment for our ships and other manufactures, and by increased trade, an increased home market for the farmer. Situated as we are as the great outpost sentinels towards Europe on the stormy Atlantic, we in these Maritime Provinces would become from our favorable position the outlet and shipping post for the great trade of the far west. Railroads ere long would connect our principal cities and towns with the world outside of us, and in course of time we might look forward to their extension across the continent. Those outlying portions of the Empire stretching from the great lakes across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, would conduce to our greatness. Their wealth and their exports must increase our commerce, and our ships must find employment in the prosecution of their trade.

The water and bed of the great lakes and the mighty St. Lawrence are capable of sustaining twenty millions of people alone.—Her immense granaries which help to feed Europe with her surplus exports—her timber, oils and minerals are each year increasing the value of her exports, and her great and growing population will afford us valuable markets for our products while we may become valuable customers for them. The signs of the times are significant. Canada has declared for Union; Newfoundland has followed in her wake and intimated her willingness to pursue the same course. We have here by the vote of this Council proclaimed in favor, and in Nova Scotia its friends are confident of success, and the country, to whom we owe so much, desires it. I believe a large majority of our people desire it, while amongst those who oppose it we will find all of our population who are aliens to British interests or hostile to British power. The man who is an alien by birth is generally to be found in their ranks, and many of those whose commercial pursuits lead them into business connection with the States, avow themselves hostile; and if reports are true, at the Fenian demonstration on our borders, within a few days past, the leaders of those threatened invaders openly declared that he wished to aid the Antis and defeat Confederation, and thus strike a blow against British power on this continent.—We are now as colonists comparatively a free people, but history indicates that a small Province cannot long remain independent beside a powerful and rapacious neighbor. In union there is strength, security and continued freedom. Out of it there is before us annexation and extinction of national exist-

ence, with the doubtful advantage of having to pay a share of the enormous war debt of our neighbors. I have heard gentlemen speak with alarm of the effect invasion of our borders would have at the present time in their defenceless state. I would inform my hon. friends for their consolation, that steps have been taken to guard our people from attack, and aid them in their defence. The regular troops have been ordered to the frontier, and a fleet of ships sent into Passamaquoddy Bay, and in the self-reliant spirit of our young men, and the patriotism of our people, I fear no danger that may be threatened. In this great National as well as Provincial crisis, it is our duty as well as our interest to defer to the wishes and national necessity of our parent state. Britain has watched us in the cradle—she has schooled and defended us in our youth, and in our manhood I trust while she may aid us, her offspring, that we may return in our maturer years with gratitude the interest she has evinced. We recognise her guiding hand, and accord to her the right to counsel and advise. We share in her glory. We would be humiliated by her defeat. That good old flag that we honor and will defend, alike sheds upon the Colonists the same glory that it does upon the people of Middlesex, whilst it affords us the same shelter and protection. And something is therefore due the country from which we receive that protection and to which we owe so much; and having appealed alike to our interests, our honor, our security, and our sense of gratitude, I feel she has not appealed in vain, and should the course of events demand the verdict of the people of this Province, I feel that the cause of union will be triumphant.

Reported by SAMUEL WATTS, *Official Reporter Legislative Council.*